

THE  
CHRISTIAN EXAMINER.

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MAY, 1860.

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ART. I.—THE APOCALYPSE ANALYZED AND EXPLAINED.

*Kritisch Exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament*, von DR. HEINR. AUG. WILH. MEYER, Consistorialrath in Hannover. Sechzehnte Abtheilung. *Die Offenbarung Johannis*. Bearbeitet von DR. FRIEDR. DÜSTERDIECK. Göttingen. 1859.

THE Commentary on the Apocalypse, by Düsterdieck, completes the work of Meyer on the New Testament,—one of the most thorough, learned, and impartial critical and exegetical commentaries on the whole of the New Testament which has ever been made. Of those which have appeared in modern times, none except that of De Wette can be compared with it for thorough research and critical accuracy. It looks every difficulty full in the face, and no theory of infallible inspiration or system of ecclesiastical dogmas hinders it from pronouncing what the meaning of the writer is. No English commentary exists which is throughout so free from dogmatical bias. Here you may find the views of a scientific interpreter of the New Testament on the meaning of Paul or Peter or John, uninfluenced by the consideration whether these writers agree with each other, or with any formula resting on ecclesiastical authority. We suppose that scholars of every denomination of Christians would agree in the opinion that the Commentaries of Meyer and De Wette surpass any that are extant in closeness and accuracy of interpretation, and in fulness of learning in regard to all the circumstances and opinions which prevailed in the time of the writers of the New Testament. It is not

inconsistent with this opinion, that, of the modern German commentaries, Olshausen's has been selected for translation into our language. For, however valuable the latter may be for general spiritual insight, and a certain mystical depth in the author, no one has ever supposed that his opinion was entitled to respect in a nice matter of grammar, criticism, or exegesis. We do, however, consider his commentary a useful one. A young clergyman would do well to purchase it in the American translation ; but, if he can read German, he ought to place Meyer's or De Wette's at the side of it. Which of the two latter is to be recommended, in case one only should be purchased, we have our doubts. Each has its peculiar excellences and faults. In regard to the genuineness of books, Meyer relies more on authority, and less on his mere historical sense, than De Wette. In exegetical tact and lucid method, the latter seems to deserve the preference. He also commented on the whole New Testament, while Meyer intrusted several books to other hands. From dogmatical bias both are in a remarkable degree free. In regard to the Trinity, for instance, neither of them would have any more faith in it, if he found it in John or Paul, than if he found it in Aristotle or Plato. The great object with each is to find out the meaning of the writer, and to represent it in the closest manner in connection with his own mode of thought, without translating it into the doctrinal language of modern times. It might be interesting to inquire what results are arrived at, in regard to several doctrinal points, by the two most recent and distinguished scientific expositors of the Scriptures in Germany, but it would be foreign from the purpose of this article. We will only mention that neither of them finds either the doctrine of the Trinity, or the identity of Christ with the Supreme Being, in the New Testament; though both of them maintain that pre-existence, in some sense, is ascribed to him in the writings of John and Paul.

We regret that the pressure of his engagements did not allow Dr. Meyer to write the Commentary on the Apocalypse. For though the plan and principles of its interpretation are what he would have followed, we miss the compact form, the lucid style, and the entire freedom from theoretic bias, which mark the commentaries on those books of the New Testament upon which Meyer himself has labored.

In general, however, Dr. Düsterdieck, to whom the work of explaining the Apocalypse was committed, has pursued the same path, and arrived at nearly the same results, with the scientific expositors who have shed so much light on this remarkable book in modern times, such as Eichhorn, Heinrichs, Ewald, Lücke, Bleek, and De Wette. He has wholly abandoned the method of allegorical interpretation, which creates a series of definite predictions merely to show a pretended fulfilment of them in the history of the Church and the world. He seeks an explanation of the book only from the circumstances and opinions which were present to the mind of the writer, and from the received use of language in his own day. No arbitrary interpretation of symbolical language by historical events, which were beyond the sphere of the writer's human vision, or beyond the political horizon in which he lived, is allowed. In other words, Dr. Düsterdieck applies to the elucidation of the Apocalypse the same principles of interpretation which are employed in ascertaining the meaning of all other writings. His constant refutation of the opinions of such writers as Hengstenberg, Hofmann, Ebrard, and others, who have more or less understood the language of the Apocalypse in an allegorical sense, — i. e. a hidden sense, of which the writer himself was unconscious, — gives a value to the work for the theological inquirer, though it interrupts the positive unfolding of the meaning of the book.

Dr. Düsterdieck, indeed, is not willing to allow that he views the Apocalypse from the same stand-point with Ewald, De Wette, and Lücke. But it seems to us that the difference, if any, is of no practical importance. He says "he cannot regard the Apocalypse as in all respects a perfect product of the Christian or prophetic spirit." Though he regards the writer as inspired, yet is his inspiration consistent with error, and his book of far less dignity than the writings of the Apostles. He supposes the work to be the production, not of John the Evangelist, but of an unknown writer of the same name, who wrote the book a short time before the destruction of Jerusalem, very early in the reign of the Emperor Vespasian. On the whole, we are very glad to have a commentary on the Apocalypse from a writer of reputed orthodoxy like Dr. Düs-

terdieck, in which right principles and a just method of interpretation are followed out, and in which essentially the same results are arrived at as in the writings of Ewald, Lücke, Bleek, and De Wette.

We propose, in the remainder of this article, to speak briefly of the kind of composition to which the Apocalypse belongs, and its practical design, and to give an analysis, and, to some extent, an explanation, of the subject or contents of the book. We shall also point out the difference between the views of Dr. Düsterdieck and those of De Wette and Lücke, — with which latter in general we agree, — on one or two interesting points.

We are aware of the general feeling in regard to the Apocalypse, as a mysterious and unintelligible book. It was said of Calvin, by Scaliger, that he showed his wisdom in *not* writing a commentary on the Apocalypse. Whether this be true or not, it is certain that writers without number have shown folly enough in what they have written upon it. The world has continued to go on in its even course, while expositor after expositor who has predicted its dissolution from the mystic pages of the Apocalypse has gone down to the dust, his time-exploded theory remaining only as a monument of wasted labor and perverted talent.

Whether it be possible to explain this remarkable book to the entire satisfaction of minds destitute of literary culture, may admit of a question. But it seems to us that, since the time of Eichhorn, there has been no difficulty in the way of persons accustomed to reading and reflection, to prevent their arriving at tolerably correct views of the nature and meaning of this wonderful production. Notwithstanding the errors into which that distinguished scholar fell in regard to the species of composition to which the Apocalypse belongs, and in regard to the meaning of some particular parts of it, to him belongs the great merit of putting the exposition of the work on a right foundation. The secret of his success was in giving up old theories in respect to the interpretation of prophetic language, and in regarding the Apocalypse as a human composition, to be explained on the same principles of interpretation as all other books, and in view of the historical circumstances, the religious opinions, which were present to the mind of the

writer, and the forms of thought and composition which existed in his time. Especially he abandoned the theory that the meaning of a prediction can be ascertained by distant *events*, and proceeded on the true view of regarding the Apocalypse as containing the subjective views of the writer,—which might, or might not, be justified by the occurrence of contingent or historical events.

Eichhorn regarded the Apocalypse as a drama, or rather as a spectator's description of a drama. In this opinion he has been followed by none of the learned modern expositors. It is not justified by a consideration of the class of Hebrew writings from which it sprung, nor by a careful survey of the contents of the book. It is true that the meaning of the writer is conveyed in the language of symbols, addressed, as it were, to the sense of sight. There is a sort of scenical representation. But it is for the most part a representation of prophetic symbols rather than of actual occurrences, and of general ideas rather than of particular actions. The attempt to bring it under the categories of classic or modern literature, and reduce it to the form of a drama, marking out the prologue, the intermediate acts, and the conclusion, overlooks the kind of literature from which it sprung, and serves only to confuse the reader, and to add darkness rather than light to the composition. It is pure hypothesis, and proceeded from one who was never at a loss for an ingenious theory on any subject.

No better success has attended the efforts of those who have regarded the Apocalypse as an epic poem; though undoubtedly it has some features which belong to that species of poetic composition.

The author was a Jewish Christian prophet; a prophet under the Christian dispensation, resembling some of the prophets of the Old Testament under the Jewish. The class of composition to which the work belongs was the symbolical prophetic; that is, the peculiar kind of prophetic composition to which the Jewish prophets tended in the later period of the national literature. Portions of the book of Ezekiel, Zechariah, and Daniel evidently belong to the same species of composition. Other writings of the same general nature, though

far inferior in excellence, are the Revelation of Peter, the Book of Enoch, which was probably written before it, the Book of the Ascension of Isaiah, the Fourth Book of Esdras, and the Sibylline Oracles. The Cabalistic writings of the Jews also contain similar ideas.

These ancient uncanonical writings, though not to be compared with the Apocalypse in religious inspiration or literary excellence, yet show that there did exist, near the time of its author, a style of composition of the same general nature, — a fashion of expressing one's thoughts similar to that which we find in the Apocalypse. They show that its symbols and emblems are not mere images, immediately suggested by the Deity to the mind of the prophet; not arbitrary signs, of which he did not himself understand the signification, and which were to be interpreted by distant events; but, in certain kinds of composition, the ordinary language of the times, having a definite meaning for the contemporaries of the writer, — language which the contemporaneous readers of the book were expected to understand and to be influenced by. At the time of publication, the Apocalypse was, without doubt, understood by its readers with as little difficulty as the Epistles of Paul. For in the latter are some things which can be found out only by those "who have wisdom."

In regard to the practical design of the author, it was evidently the same which the writers of the Epistles of the New Testament had in view; namely, to confirm Christians of his own times in the faith, — to excite them to perseverance in the Christian virtues, and to prevent their falling away under the terrors of persecution, and even to exhort Jews and Gentiles to conversion. (See i. 9; ii. 10; iii. 10; xiii. 7; xi. 13; and xiv. 6.)

Such was the author's practical design. It is the same with that which the Apostles generally had in view. Now, in order to effect this object, it is well known that the Apostles continually refer to the near coming of Christ. It was impressed on their minds, that the low, distressed condition of Christians was not long to remain what it was. Christ would speedily come to exalt his friends and punish his enemies, and establish his kingdom beyond all opposition.

Our Saviour himself had predicted a coming of his, which was to take place during the lifetime of those who listened to his prediction. See Matt. xvi. 28. It has generally been supposed that this relates to an invisible or spiritual coming; a coming which was to be manifested in the display of power for the establishment of his kingdom, or a coming in the spirit and power of his religion in the minds of men. However this may be, it is evident that the Apostles expected, in their own day, a personal coming of Christ, visible to the outward eye. Amid all their labors and trials, and all the dangers and persecutions of the churches which they founded, this was their great topic of encouragement, of admonition, of warning, and of consolation. "The coming of the Lord draweth nigh;" "the Lord is at hand." (See James v. 8; 1 Pet. iv. 7; Phil. iv. 5; 1 Thess. iv. 16, 17.) It was to be a coming of triumph to his friends, of confusion and destruction to his enemies.

This speedy coming of Christ filled the mind of the writer of the Apocalypse, and is urged by him as the great motive and means by which his practical design was to be accomplished. It is announced at the outset: "Behold he cometh in clouds, and every eye shall see him!" It forms the devout aspiration at the close of the book: "Surely I come quickly: Amen! Even so come, Lord Jesus!" It runs through the whole book, as the principal idea. (Comp. ii. 16; iii. 3, 11; vi. 2; xii. 10; xix. 11; xxii. 7.) In connection with its practical design, the subject of the book may be stated to be, The Coming of Christ, and the events which, as the writer believed, would precede and accompany his reign.

The difference between the Apocalypse and the Epistles of the New Testament in relation to this subject of the coming of Christ is, that the former is a prophetic poem, while the latter are plain prose. The former sets forth in a series of prophetic symbols what the Apostles express in plain, unstudied declarations. The former would bring home the great event of the coming of Christ to the imagination, as well as the faith, of his readers. What there is in the Apocalypse more than in the Epistles and the Gospels, is to be attributed to the imagination of the writer, under the influence of strong but fallible inspiration, or to the opinions which he held, in

common with his contemporaries, as to the events which would precede or accompany, first the limited, and afterwards the complete, establishment of Christ's kingdom, when he should in person descend from heaven. Many of the opinions which the Jews entertained respecting the first coming of the Messiah were transferred by the early Christians to his second coming. These opinions, drawn from the oral narratives which now form the Gospels, from the Epistles, from contemporaneous writings which are lost, and of which we have similar ones in the Book of Enoch and others before mentioned, are embodied in the Apocalypse, embellished by a great variety of figures and symbols drawn from the prophet's own imagination.

The ground-idea only, — what Christ predicted, — the establishment of the kingdom of God in some way, — the triumph of Christian principles, and the blessedness which will be their result to society and to individuals, on earth and in heaven, — this is all which can be literally fulfilled. All the rest, having reference to contingent events, is to be referred to opinions of the writer and his contemporaries, which time has proved to be unfounded.

With these views of the character, design, and subject of the Apocalypse, it appears to us that it will not be more difficult to arrive at the meaning of it than of other portions of the New Testament.

In the mind of the writer, the coming of Christ and the establishment of his kingdom were evidently not regarded as purely spiritual events. He could not say, as Christ did, "The kingdom of God cometh not with observation." It was connected in his mind with the putting down of physical power, in heaven and on earth. There was to be war in heaven and on earth, in his view, before Christ should reign in triumph. Hence a great part of the work consists in symbolic prediction of the ruin or destruction of those political powers which were thought to present the greatest obstacles to the establishment of the kingdom of Christ, namely, Jerusalem and Rome. These cities were the centres and representatives of all the earthly force, with the exception of that of the extreme North which is afterwards introduced under the name of Gog and Magog, which was supposed to be in opposition to the triumphant establishment of the kingdom of Christ.

\* With respect to its contents, the Apocalypse may be divided into five parts.

I. A short statement respecting the writer. Ch. i. 1 - 4.

II. A vision of Jesus Christ to the author, in which he is represented as directing him to write letters of encouragement, admonition, or rebuke to the seven churches of Asia Minor. Ch. i. 5 - iii.

III. A succession of symbolic visions and representations, setting forth how the opposition to Christ's kingdom from the Jewish nation was to be put down. Ch. iv. - xi.

IV. Another succession of visions and symbols, representing the destruction of the opposition to Christ's kingdom which came from heathenism, and was embodied at Rome, and afterwards in the North, and the final triumphant reign of Christ. Ch. xii. - xxii. 6.

V. Concluding remarks relating to the book. Ch. xxii. 6 to the end.

Of these five divisions, the third and fourth may be regarded as the Apocalypse proper ; that is, they contain the symbolical revelation of things future. They extend from chap. iv. 1 to xxii. 6, and contain visions and symbols relating to the forces which are opposed to Christ, and to his final victory over them. A more particular analysis, accompanied with explanatory remarks, is as follows.

In the beginning of chap. iv. John is represented as seeing a door opened in heaven, and hearing the same voice which directed him to write the letters to the seven churches of Asia Minor, saying to him, "Come up hither, and I will show thee what things must hereafter come to pass." He is in the spirit caught up to heaven, and sees Jehovah seated on a splendid throne, surrounded by a rainbow in brightness like an emerald, supported by four wonderful living creatures, and having around it seats, upon which sat four and twenty elders in white garments, with crowns of gold on their heads, who were continually praising Him that sat on the throne. In chap. v. is seen in the right hand of Jehovah, who sat on the throne, a book sealed with seven seals, obviously the book of the Divine purposes respecting the future events which the writer was about to set forth in his symbolic language. None of the in-

habitants of heaven is able to open that sealed book. On this account John weeps. An angel tells him to be comforted, since the Messiah, the Lion of the tribe of Judah, had prevailed to loose the seals and unroll the book. Immediately a Lamb, with seven eyes, symbols of knowledge, and as many horns, symbols of strength, with the marks of a bloody death upon it, undertakes, and that with success, to open the sealed volume amid the acclamations of all the spirits in heaven.

In chap. vi. begins the unveiling of the future, through the opening of the seven seals by the Messiah. The first four form a separate division, containing symbols which go together. The first seal of the book of Destiny is opened by the Lamb, and a white horse is seen, his rider having a bow in his hand, and receiving a crown upon his head as he rides forth to conquer. This symbol evidently denotes victory, as destined to be the final result of the Messiah's cause.

With the opening of the second seal a red horse, having a rider with a great sword in his hand, to whom it was given to take peace from the earth, appears as the symbol of coming war.

The third seal opens, and a black horse, with a pair of scales in his hand to weigh out the wheat rather than measure it, appears as the symbol of famine.

With the opening of the fourth seal appears on the scene a pale horse, having a rider whose name is Death, manifestly the symbol of pestilence. All these four emblems of victory, war, famine, and pestilence are followed by Hades, the region of the dead personified, and together with it set forth the calamities which are to be inflicted on the enemies of Christ, as a preparation for his triumph, or the victorious establishment of his kingdom. (vi. 1-9.)

The fifth seal is opened, and the voice of martyred Christians is heard under the altar in heaven, calling aloud for vengeance on their persecutors and murderers. The design of this representation is evident; namely, to show that the calamities denoted by the preceding symbols relate to the enemies of Christ and Christians. (vi. 9-11.) They are told to wait a little longer, till the impending martyrdom of their fellows should be completed.

On the opening of the sixth seal, still more dreadful symbols of calamity and punishment, which should fall on the opposers of Christianity, are exhibited. An earthquake, the sun becoming black like sackcloth, the moon becoming like blood, the stars falling from heaven, the firmament parting as a scroll is rolled up, are mere general symbols of approaching calamities about to fall on the enemies of Christ, or of the near approach of the time of judgment. (vi. 12-17.)

Before the opening of the seventh seal a vision is interposed, the design of which seems to be to show that the faithful followers of Christ had nothing to fear from the calamities which had been announced on the opening of the six preceding seals, but rather to hope that their sufferings would then be brought to an end, either by life or by death. An angel appears holding fast the four winds, while another angel, during the stillness of nature, sets a seal on the followers of Christ. An immense number is sealed, whose song of praise and happiness in the presence of Christ is described. (Ch. vii.)

Then comes the opening of the seventh seal, the contents of which are so dreadful as to cause a silent horror in the inhabitants of heaven for a considerable time. It is the stillness of expectation, such as precedes a storm. Seven angels are represented as appearing, furnished with seven trumpets. As the approach of an army among the Jews was announced by the sound of trumpets, so these seven angels in the same way announce the coming of the Messiah to put down his enemies. Before the trumpets sound, incense is burnt by another angel in a golden censer before the throne of God, as a symbol of the prayers of Christians. Their prayer is heard; in token of which fire is taken by the angel from the altar and scattered upon the earth, to denote the punishment which was soon to come upon the enemies of Christians. The angels prepare to sound their trumpets. Four of them form a separate division from the rest, as was the case with four of the seven seals. These four sound, and various calamities, represented by hail, fire, blood, poisoning of the waters, the darkening and falling of the heavenly bodies, come upon the earth. (Ch. viii.)

The fifth angel now sounds his trumpet, and the first woe commences. An angel-star, which had fallen from heaven, is

seen by John to open the door of the bottomless pit, from which swarms of locusts, such as we find described in the book of Joel, are represented as issuing forth. These probably represent invading armies. They were to injure, without utterly destroying, those who had not the seal of God in their foreheads. They come under the instigation and leadership of Apollyon. (ix. 1-12.)

Now the sixth angel sounds, and the four angels of destruction, who had been bound at the river Euphrates, are let loose. With them comes an immense host of cavalry, terrible in respect to both horses and riders, who are said to destroy a third part of men; that is, to inflict very extensive destruction. The remaining part are said to remain impenitent and unreformed. It is to be observed that all the symbols of woe which accompany the sounding of the fifth and sixth trumpets are merely preparatory, or by way of prelude, to the great event or consummation, which is set forth in the eleventh chapter, by which the opposition of the Jewish state to Christianity is put down. That is, they do not denote particular independent events, but have reference to the one great catastrophe set forth in the eleventh chapter. (ix. 13-21.)

Previous to the sounding of the seventh trumpet, which is to introduce the concluding woe, a new scene or symbol is introduced. An angel descends from heaven, clothed with a cloud, having a rainbow upon his head, his face being like the sun, and his feet like pillars of brass. He has in his hand an open book-roll. With his right foot on the sea, and his left foot on the earth, he swears that there should be no longer delay; \* namely, in the accomplishment of the purposes of God relating to the establishment of the Messiah's kingdom, when the seventh angel should sound. The angel gives John the book-roll which was in his hand, the volume of the Divine purposes, and directs him to eat it. It was sweet to his mouth, but bitter in his stomach. The former circumstance denotes the Seer's joy on account of being intrusted with the Divine message, and the latter expresses his feeling of pain on account of the woes which formed the sub-

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\* *ὅτι χρόνος οὐκέτι ἔσται*, erroneously rendered in the Common Version, "that there should be time no longer."

stance of the message contained in the roll. The eating of the book is symbolical of the reception of the prophet's gifts for the remaining part of his revelations of the future. (Ch. x.)

And now, before the coming of the second woe and the destruction of the Jewish power, the question occurs to the Seer, How shall it be with the holy temple of God? His patriotic Jewish feeling seems to lead him to answer the question in a way not accordant with Matthew's Gospel, and with the actual event. He cannot conceive of the holy temple's\* destruction. A measuring-rod is represented as given to the Seer, and he is directed to measure the temple, the altar, and its worshippers, as a symbol that these were to be preserved amid the impending calamities; but not to measure the outer court, for that was to be given to the Gentiles, who should waste it for three years and a half. Only the temple proper is to be spared. During the time of the conquest of the Holy City, two witnesses, probably Moses and Elijah, would prophesy, clothed in sack-cloth. At the end of their testimony, they were to be slain by the beast from the bottomless pit, that is, the Antichristian power, which is afterwards, in chap. xiii. and xvii., more particularly set forth. Their dead bodies were to lie three days and a half in Jerusalem, "the city where our Lord was crucified." But afterwards they would arise and ascend to heaven in a cloud, in the sight of their enemies. In the same hour, a tenth part of the Holy City fell; seven thousand men perished, and the remnant gave glory to the God of heaven, that is, became subjects of the Messiah's kingdom. This was the conclusion of the second woe. It put an end to the opposition to Christ's kingdom from the Jewish nation. But this was only preliminary to a greater contest,—only preparatory for the final triumph of Christ over the opposition from Rome. The second woe completes all that relates to Jerusalem. (xi. 13.)

Then commences the preparation of the third woe, which has no relation to the Jewish nation, and does not take place, as we suppose, till the pouring out of the seven vials, by which the Roman Antichristian power is put down in chap. xvi.

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\* Düsterdieck, in agreement with Ewald, Lücke, Bleek, and De Wette, has demonstrated with great ability the untenableness of the allegorizing view of Hengstenberg, that the temple can here mean the Christian Church.

The seventh angel now sounds his trumpet, by which, we conceive, not the immediate completion, but the ideal or prophetic certainty, of the third woe is announced. The voices of praise in heaven, celebrating the establishment of the reign of Christ, (xi. 15-18,) are on account of what is to be, when the third woe is passed, and relate to the whole contents of chap. xii.-xix. The sounding of the seventh angel's trumpet so surely indicates that the kingdoms of the world will speedily become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ, that the inhabitants of heaven give praise, as if the event had come. In conformity with this view is the meaning of verse nineteenth: "And the temple of God was opened in heaven, and there was seen in his temple the ark of his covenant." The temple is the peculiar dwelling-place of God, who keeps his covenant or promises. The opening of this temple, and the vision of the ark of the covenant, indicate the revelation of the mysterious purposes of God relating to the establishment of the kingdom of his Son. (xi. 19.)

And now, instead of proceeding immediately to the description of the third woe, the poet-seer proceeds to a highly imaginative description of the enemies which were to be put down, prefixing to it a symbolical representation of the birth of Christ. This constant postponement of the final triumph of Christ over his enemies by the interposition of preparatory symbolical scenes, is evidence of the writer's skill, and makes the difference between a poem and a plain prose statement, which might have been made in a very few lines.

A great and horrible dragon, with seven heads, seven horns, and ten crowns on each of his heads, — the Satanic archetype in heaven of the beast representing the Roman power on earth, — is represented as watching a woman clothed with the sun, and having the moon under her feet, — a symbol of the true Jewish Church, or Theocracy, — who was about to bring forth a child, namely, the Messiah, with the purpose of devouring the child. This monster, Satan, is represented as cast out of heaven by Michael, the archangel, and his hosts; and the woman and her son are rescued. This casting out of Satan from heaven, being regarded as typical of what was to be on the earth, occasions great rejoicing and thanksgiving in the

heavenly world. But Satan is represented as still remaining upon the earth, having great wrath, and stirring up all his instruments to war against the woman, her child, the Messiah, and his followers. (Ch. xii.) Two of these instruments are represented under the symbols of monstrous beasts, evidently denoting heathen Rome, and the idolatrous priesthood or prophethood of Rome, as rising in succession, the one from the sea, and the other from the earth. As the sea was conceived of as encompassing the whole earth, the representation that the principal beast comes from the sea, and the second, which was merely an adjunct power wholly in the service of the first, from the land, is probably designed to set forth the all-comprehensive grasp of the Roman empire. One of the heads, "wounded to death, but whose deadly wound was healed," denotes Nero,\* who had wielded the power of the Roman empire, and had been put to death, but was expected to reappear as Antichrist. (Comp. ch. xvii. 8-11.) The vast influence of both beasts is further described, and the name of the beast given in the number six hundred and sixty-six, as an enigma to be interpreted by the wise. If this number refers, as is most probable, to the letters of the Greek alphabet which denote it, the name of the beast is *λατεῖνος*,† Latin, the noun implied being *λαός*, people, or *αὐτοκράτωρ*, emperor. If the number refer to the letters of the Hebrew alphabet which denote it, the beast's name might be *קסר נרון*, Nero Cæsar. (Ch. xiii.)

And now against these terrible forces under the conduct of Satan, the writer sets forth, in striking contrast, symbols of the victory and rest, which are designed by the Almighty to be the final issue of the conflict. The purpose of this is to encourage and console. Christ is seen on Mount Zion surrounded by the redeemed. (xiv. 1-6.) Then follow successive proclamations by three angels. The first announces the spread of the Gospel throughout the world. The second proclaims the fall of Rome, under the name of Babylon; that is, its destined fall. For that which is decreed in heaven is, in the Hebrew and New Testament idiom, often represented as done. (6-8.) The third declares the judgments which awaited the followers.

\* So Victorinus, Ewald, Lücke, De Wette, Bleek, Baur, Stuart.

† Thus, λ 30, α 1, τ 300, ε 5, ι 10, ρ 50, ο 70, ς 200 = 666.

of the beast. This is followed by a voice declaring the blessedness of Christ's followers. (9-13.) Then follow images setting forth the near approach of the Messiah, under the form of a man with a sharp sickle, who is directed by an angel to thrust it in and reap. Other images succeed, of similar import. (14-20.)

The symbols and pledges of Divine retribution having been thus given, preparation is made for its execution in chap. xv. The writer sees a new vision in heaven, namely, seven angels receiving from God the commission to inflict the seven last plagues, by which the wrath of God was to be accomplished upon the two beasts, representing the Roman Antichristian power. As soon as this is seen, the host of martyrs sing a song of anticipated triumph, called the song of Moses and of the Lamb, because it has been sung by Moses and by the Lamb, and Christians have learned it of them. The unity of the Church of God, begun in Judaism and continued under Christ, is thus recognized. Then from the temple in heaven, the peculiar abode of God, the keeper of his covenant or promises, the seven angels go forth, receiving seven golden vials or bowls, filled with the wrath of God. The decree of retribution is irrevocable. No one can enter the temple in heaven until it is accomplished. (xv. 1-8.)

At the command of a voice issuing from the heavenly temple, the seven angels pour out their vials. The calamities which have been announced by the foregoing symbols are actually inflicted. The Roman Antichristian power, i. e. Rome with her dependent cities, is brought to a ruinous state. (Ch. xvi.) The absolute completion of its destruction is not represented as taking place until chap. xix. 11-21, under the immediate presence of Christ at the head of his army.

Then follows a more particular account of the judgment upon Rome, and the causes of it, in a conversation between an angel and the writer, and in other visions, in chap. xvii. Here occurs a remarkable description of the Roman power, as "the beast which was, and is not, and shall ascend out of the bottomless pit;" and again, as "the beast which was, and is not, and shall come;"\* and of seven kings, of whom five are

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\* *καὶ ἔρχεται*, and shall come, instead of *καίπερ ἐστίν*, and yet is, is the reading of all the late critical editions.

represented as fallen, one as then existing, one as about to come and continue but a short time, and one as being about to come as the eighth, and yet be one of the seven. This enigmatical description admits, as it appears to us, of but one satisfactory solution, namely, that which supposes the five kings who had fallen to denote five Roman emperors, — 1. Augustus, 2. Tiberius, 3. Caligula, 4. Claudius, 5. Nero. For there appears to have been an expectation in all parts of the Roman empire, and even in the Christian Church down to the time of Augustine, that Nero would come to life and again appear on the stage. The writer of the Apocalypse, adopting this wide-spread opinion, represents Nero as the head of the empire, as one of the five which had fallen, and thus as the beast which was, and is not, and shall come as the eighth king, though one of the seven. The sixth emperor, then, will be Galba, or, if we exclude Galba, Otho, and Vitellius as mere insurrectionary princes, the sixth will be Vespasian. After the seventh, which the writer does not mention by name, but which he might well expect to be short-lived in the tumultuous times of Galba, Nero was to reappear as the eighth, and soon afterwards to go to destruction, being overcome by the Lamb. (Ch. xvii.)

In chap. xviii. another angel is seen descending from heaven, announcing the utter destruction of Rome as immediately impending. (1-3.) The people of God are warned to come out of her. (4-8.) The lamentation over her destined fall is then described. (9-19.) Heaven is called upon to rejoice over her sure destruction, and an angel takes up a great millstone and casts it into the sea, as a symbol that she shall fall to rise no more. (20-24.)

And now, before the final and complete triumph over the beast and false prophet, the writer, according to his custom, brings in an episode of thanksgiving and praise, in view of the victory which the Messiah is to win. (xix. 1-10.) Then appears, in the dress of a triumphant warrior, the faithful and true judge and irresistible conqueror, the Messiah, followed by his heavenly warriors. The two beasts from the sea and the land in vain endeavor to make resistance. They are seized and cast alive into the lake which burneth with fire and brim-

stone, and their followers slain by the sword which proceeded from the mouth of the Victor, who sat upon the white horse. The sword from his mouth seems to indicate his pronouncing sentence as judge, and the power with which it is executed. (xix. 11-21.)

Now, the Antichristian power which had its centre in Jerusalem and in Rome having been completely subdued, there still remains the punishment of the instigator of all the opposition to Christ, namely, Satan. He is seized, bound, and cast into the abyss, the abode of evil spirits, there to remain a thousand years. During this thousand years' confinement of Satan, the true followers of Christ, with those who have suffered martyrdom in his cause, are to reign on earth with Christ. A judgment takes place, whose apparent design is to decide who are worthy of the first resurrection, and of living with Christ a thousand years on the earth. As to the judges who sat upon the thrones, and to whom the office of administering judgment was given, they may have been Christ and the twelve Apostles (comp. Matt. xix. 28), or the four and twenty elders. That the reign of Christ and his followers, including those raised from the dead, during the thousand years, though not of a worldly character, was to have its seat on the earth, seems plain from verses third, eighth, and ninth, and is confirmed by the well-known Jewish conceptions concerning the reign of the Messiah. (See also xix. 11.) At the end of the thousand years' reign, Satan is again loosed, and goes forth to deceive the nations. He instigates the nations of the North, called Gog and Magog, to engage in battle with Christ and his followers at Jerusalem, "the beloved city," the seat or capital city of the kingdom of the Messiah on earth. But the issue of the conflict is, that these enemies are destroyed, and Satan himself cast into the burning lake, where the beast and the false prophet had been hurled. (xx. 1-10.)

In regard to the question which has been asked, Why Christ should reign with his people on the earth a thousand years and no more, without another crisis, or contest with his enemies,—or why, at the expiration of that period, Satan must be loosed a short time from his prison,—we know of no answer, except that the writer partook of the common Jewish

belief of the times respecting the thousand years' reign of the Messiah,\* which being finite must come to an end; and entertained the positive opinion, perhaps derived from the Old Testament, that Gog and Magog must come as enemies of Christ. The letting loose of Satan to stir them up is in conformity with other imaginations of the writer respecting the work of Satan.

And now, the opposition of all enemies ending with the destruction of Gog and Magog and the casting of Satan into the lake of fire, the second or general resurrection is represented as taking place, and that without any considerable interval of time. See xix. 5. Before the secure establishment of the final and absolute blessedness of the kingdom of God, it was necessary that all the dead, small and great, should stand before the throne and be judged. Now God, the Creator, the Ancient of Days of Dan. vii. 9, he who makes all things new (Rev. xxi. 5), he who gained the last victory (xx. 9), is the judge. The dead are judged; they whose names are not written in the book of life are cast into the lake of fire, and then death and the underworld (Hades), represented as persons, are, as being the progeny of sin, cast into the burning lake; that is, their power is destroyed. There will be no more pain or death in the new creation which is to follow. (xx. 11-15.) There is now a new heaven and a new earth, and to this new earth the New Jerusalem descends from heaven; that is, the heavenly archetype of the new Christian theocracy is realized in the renovated earth. (xxi.-xxii. 5.) Then follows the conclusion, or epilogue. (xxii. 6-21.)

Such is the view of the meaning of the Apocalypse given by the most scientific expositors, who have discarded the allegorical or double sense, and who hold that an inspired man is one under the influence of the spirit of God, but yet not beyond the reach of error. According to this view, it follows that when the Apocalyptist undertook to predict future contingent events, such as that the temple of Jerusalem would be spared when the city was assaulted, and that the destruction of the city itself would be only partial; that the eighth

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\* See the Jewish opinions in Eisenmenger, II. 811, and Wetstein on Apoc. xx. 2.

Roman emperor, whom he probably supposed would be Nero risen from the dead, would be the last ; that in the time of this eighth emperor Rome would be reduced to a total ruin ; that immediately after this there would be a resurrection of the martyrs in the cause of Christ, who would rise from the dead, and with their Master enjoy a thousand years of uninterrupted blessedness ; that the time of the general resurrection would take place a thousand years from the reign of the eighth Roman emperor ; — he was in error, as all must be who undertake to predict contingent or historical events of the distant future. But the ground ideas which underlie his representations — such as that Christian principles have a mighty power, and are destined in the end to prevail against all the strong-holds of error and sin ; that progress is God's law ; that the world is not abandoned to the dominion of impious rulers, or persecuting priests ; that in consequence of the prevalence of the religion of Christ there will be a new and better state of society on earth, and a triumphant state of eternal blessedness for the righteous — are founded in truth, and expressed with such fulness, strength, and vividness, that they may well be said to come from an inspired man, that is, one having the aid of the spirit of God. He was without doubt a Jewish Christian prophet, who had cast off subjection to the ritual law, but retained a considerable degree of the spirit of the old theocracy, and had not attained to the spirituality of John the Evangelist, or Paul. On this account Martin Luther asserted that “the book was neither apostolic nor prophetic ;” and “that Christ was neither taught nor acknowledged in it.” He must have meant that he found a Christ in the Apocalypse less spiritual, and less adapted to the heart burdened with sin, than the Christ of Paul and of the beloved disciple. Still it may be read with profit, as well calculated to inspire hope, trust, and confidence with respect to the progress of society, and to the eternal connection between Christian righteousness and permanent blessedness. It exhibits all the attributes of God as on the side of truth and right, and as pledges of their final triumph. In every age we have the return, with greater or less hideousness, of the beast which cometh up from the sea, and the beast which cometh up

from the land (Apoc. xiii.) ; the corrupt civil power, and its devoted servant, the false prophet or church. In every age it is the principles of Christian truth, zealously maintained by those who are not discouraged by the abuses of free inquiry on the one hand, nor attracted by the love of quiet in some old reform-hating hierarchy on the other, that must gain the final victory. Only those who hold fast the true and the right against all the forces which may be arrayed against them, belong to the army of him who is called "Faithful and True," and who will finally sit on the white horse of victory. (Apoc. xix. 11.)

The Apocalypse is a highly interesting monument of the mode of thinking and feeling of no inconsiderable portion of the Christian Church at a very early period, and embodies their opinions and expectations. Though it may be less valuable in some respects than the writings of the Apostles, yet on account of its sustained and earnest spirit, and its sublime poetry, as well as of the fundamental religious principles which it embodies, it will no doubt be read with interest as long as books last.

What we have said on the character of the Apocalypse implies our entire agreement with those critics who believe it impossible that it should have come from the author of the fourth Gospel, and the Epistles ascribed to John. We should like, if we had space, to make some remarks on the opinion of F. C. Baur of Tübingen, who comes to the above conclusion, but ascribes the Apocalypse to John the Apostle, and the fourth Gospel and the Johannine Epistles to later writers. This is a subject of great extent, and having numerous relations, which forbid our entering upon it at this time. We will only say that the arguments of Baur have made little impression upon us.

But there is one subject, namely, the time in which the Apocalypse was written, which, as it determines the standpoint of the author in respect to his predictions, or the political horizon which bounded his view, has an important bearing on the interpretation of the book. On this account, we propose to state briefly one or two of the reasons which have led

us to the conclusion that it was written before the destruction of Jerusalem, in the time of the Emperor Galba ; or possibly in the beginning of the reign of Vespasian.

An opinion has been prevalent, that it was written near the end of the reign of Domitian, about A. D. 95 – 96. A passage in Irenæus has given this opinion its principal support.\* Some of the later Fathers adopt this opinion merely on his authority. But he does not say whether his opinion was received from tradition, or formed from something contained in the book itself. Some of the early Church writers ascribe the book to the reign of Nero ; others, to that of Claudius. It appears to us that there is no reliable tradition which ought to have much weight against any internal evidence which may be found in the book itself. Internal evidence, in such a case, is the most conclusive evidence, when it can be found. Now it appears to us that there are in the Apocalypse indications of time, from which we may infer, with considerable confidence, the date of its composition.

In the first place, there are some marks of a later date for the Apocalypse than for most of the Epistles of Paul. The letters to the seven churches of Asia Minor seem to suppose them to be in a more mature state than when Paul wrote to the Ephesians and Colossians. They had forgotten their first love, and corruptions, both of opinion and practice, had crept in. Persecutions, not only from the Jews, but from the Romans, had prevailed. These circumstances seem to carry us beyond the period of most of the Epistles of Paul,—those which he wrote during his first imprisonment at Rome. But we do not see why they should carry us more than five or six years beyond Paul's imprisonment, or about the year 68 or 69.

Some have supposed that, as persecution is said to have ceased for a time after the death of Nero, the reign of Galba or Vespasian does not suit the persecuted condition of Christians, as represented in the book, so well as the reign of Nero or Domitian. But there are two considerations which diminish the force of this suggestion : one is, that, from the nature of the case, the persecution of Christians would be continued by the priests and people of the Roman empire, long after the

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\* In Hæres. V. 30. Euseb. Hist. Ecc. III. 18.

edicts which enjoined it had been revoked.\* The second is, that, when Judæa was in a rebellious state against the Romans, it is extremely probable that Christians, who were at that time regarded by the Romans as a sect of Jews, would be persecuted in all parts of the empire. We see, therefore, nothing in the Apocalypse inconsistent with its having been written soon after the death of Nero, when the feelings excited by his persecution were fresh, and when the priests and people would continue it, even without an imperial edict, or in spite of one.

More definite indications of the date of the composition of the Apocalypse are found in chap. xi. and xvii. 8-11, together with xiii. 3. From chap. xi. it appears to us that a decisive argument is to be drawn that the book was written before the destruction of Jerusalem, or at least before the writer had heard of the destruction of Jerusalem. In ver. 1, 2, the Apocalypticist is commanded to measure the temple of God, the altar, &c., but to cast out and not measure the porch, &c., because it was given up to the Gentiles, who would tread the Holy City under foot, &c. Here the trampling of the city under foot is predicted as a future event. Now whether the temple to be measured off, or preserved, is to be understood literally or symbolically, — whether it denote the material temple at Jerusalem, or the spiritual part of the Jewish religion, or the Christianized part of the Jewish nation, — it appears to us that the natural implication is that the Jewish temple was standing in the time of the writer; for if the whole temple had been already in ruins, we should expect that different language would have been used; we should expect some allusion to have been made to so important an event, especially when it is said that the outer court should be given to the Gentiles.

Then in the third and following verses it is said, “*I will give power to my two witnesses, and they shall prophesy, and be put to death, and their dead bodies shall be in the streets of Jerusalem, the place,*” it is expressly added, “*where our Lord was crucified.*” These two witnesses were subse-

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\* “Whenever the jealousy of the state was awakened, no special edict was required to drag them before the altar of Jupiter, and invite them to sprinkle it with incense, and conceive a vow to the genius of the Emperor.” — Merivale, *History of the Romans*, Vol. VI. p. 284.

quently to be brought to life, and to ascend to heaven, after having been overcome by the beast that should ascend from the bottomless pit; that is, the Roman persecuting power under Nero. (Comp. xvii. 8; xiii. 1.) That the Roman persecuting power is indicated is evident from the phrase in verse second, "it shall be given to *the Gentiles*." Then, it is said, there was a great earthquake, and a tenth part of the city fell, and seven thousand men perished, and the rest gave glory to the God of heaven.

Now that this is not a prediction *after the event*, appears evident from its want of conformity to the actual circumstances of the event. If the writer had known of the complete destruction of the city of Jerusalem, including the temple, and of the hundreds of thousands that were slain or carried into captivity, why should he represent only a tenth part of the city as fallen, and only seven thousand as slain, and the rest as giving glory to the God of heaven? If it were a prediction made after the event, why was it not made to correspond with the facts?

Nor is the difficulty removed, if we suppose that the whole representation is symbolical, and that the capture of Jerusalem was designed to be a mere emblem of the fall of Judaism. For why should not the writer have made the emblem which he uses more conformable to the facts of the case? When we refer to the facts of history for illustration, we are not expected to misstate them, more than if we refer to them on their own account as plain history. But it appears to us that the supposition that Jerusalem is in this chapter a mere symbol, is contrary to the whole tenor of it. If the writer had so designed it, he would have made his purpose distinctly to appear. From this chapter, then, we draw a very decisive argument that the Apocalypse was written before the fall of Jerusalem.

In chap. xvii. we have, unless we are mistaken in our interpretation of it, still more definite indications of the time of its composition; namely, before the destruction of Jerusalem and after the death of Nero; not during his life, as Mr. Stuart and a few others have maintained.

In ver. 3 we evidently have a symbolical representation

of heathen Rome, under the image of a woman sitting upon a scarlet-colored beast having seven heads and ten horns. In ver. 7 there are also said to be seven mountains or hills on which the woman sitteth. But in verses 8-11 we read, "The beast which thou sawest was, and is not, and shall ascend out of the bottomless pit, and go into perdition; and they that dwell on the earth shall wonder (whose names are not written in the book of life from the foundation of the world) when they behold the beast that was, and is not, and shall come.\* Here is the mind that hath wisdom. The seven heads are seven mountains on which the woman sitteth; and there are seven kings. Five have fallen, one is, and the other is not yet come; and when he is come, he must continue a short space. And the beast that was, and is not, even he is the eighth, and is of the seven, and goeth into perdition." Now, as the woman sitting on seven hills denotes heathen Rome, it appears to us there can be little doubt that the seven kings denote seven Roman emperors. And one of these has such marked peculiarities in the enigmatical description of it, that, when we consider the opinions which prevailed after Nero's death, it is extremely probable that it refers to the Emperor Nero. He is described as the beast which was, and is not, and will come; as the eighth, and yet one of the seven. No other solution of the enigma is so obvious as this.

For it appears from indisputable testimony, that after the death of Nero a wide-spread and long-continued opinion prevailed among men that he would rise from the dead, reappear as emperor, and put down his enemies. Thus Suetonius (Nero, cap. 57), after speaking of the joy on account of the tyrant's death, says: "And yet there were some who for a long time adorned his tomb with spring and summer flowers, and who would at one time set up in the rostrum images of him clothed with the prætexta, and at another time would proclaim edicts, as if he were living, and would shortly return to the ruin of his enemies." This was at Rome. It also appears that the same opinion extended to the most distant provinces of the empire. Thus, in the chapter referred to above, Suetonius says: "When I was a

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\* See note to page 340.

youth, there arose a person of uncertain origin, who boasted that he was Nero; and so attractive was his name among the Parthians, that he received much aid from them, and was given up with great reluctance." Tacitus also (*Hist.* I. 2) says: "The Parthians were near engaging in a war through the deception of a pretended Nero." And again (*II.* 8): "About the same time, [that is, about A. D. 71,] Achaia and Asia were terrified without cause; as if Nero were coming, reports being various respecting his death, and many on this account imagining and believing that he was still alive." Thus it appears that in Asia Minor, the very region in which the Apocalypticist lived, the people were filled with alarm about the coming of Nero, three years after his death. Dio Chrysostom says: "Those around Nero left him as it were to destroy himself; for even to the present time this is uncertain. Even now all desire him to live, and most even suppose that he is alive." Dio was a contemporary of Vespasian, and wrote the preceding sentence long after Nero's death. Dio Cassius (*LXIV.* 9) relates, that "in the time of Otho, who succeeded Galba, a person appeared at Rome, who pretended to be Nero, but was speedily taken and executed." We might quote passages\* in abundance from the Sibylline Oracles, and from several of the Church Fathers who lived centuries after the death of Nero, which prove the deeply-rooted and wide-spread expectation that he would rise from the dead, and reappear as emperor with irresistible power. Even before the death of Nero, some astrologers had predicted that he would be reduced to a state of great destitution, and afterward be restored to his former fortune. (*Suet. Nero*, 40.) This prediction, when found not to have been fulfilled during his life, may well have given rise to the popular belief that he would rise from the dead. It has been said; — we know not with how much truth, — that a belief that Napoleon Bonaparte would return to France prevailed among the French peasants long after his death.

Now, whether the author of the Apocalypse received that form of the general belief concerning Nero which held that

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\* Sulpitius Severus, *Lib.* II. 28; Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, *Cap.* XIX.; Lactantius, *De Mortibus Persecut.*, *Cap.* II. See also, on the whole subject, Stuart on the Apocalypse, pp. 434 - 441.

he was actually dead, but would be restored to life to the ruin of his enemies, or that form of it which supposed that his death was uncertain, and that he was still living in some hiding-place in the East, whence he would emerge and put down the emperor who had taken his place, — in either case the language of chap. xvii. is satisfactorily explained. He was “the beast that was, and is not, and shall ascend out of the bottomless pit;” “the beast that was, and is not, and will come;” “the beast that was one of the seven, and yet the eighth;” and the head which “was wounded to death, but whose deadly wound was healed” (xiii. 3).

We think that the phrase, “shall come up from the bottomless pit,” ver. 8, most naturally denotes coming up from Hades, the place of the dead. But if the writer only believed that Nero had ceased to be emperor, that he was hidden nobody knew where, and that another emperor, whether Galba or Vespasian, was reigning in his place, still the expected return of Nero, whether from his earthly hiding-place or from the regions of the dead, will best explain the enigmatical description above cited. In this explanation we have the support of Ewald, Lücke, De Wette, Stuart, Bleek, and Baur. “Why, then,” we ask, with the late Professor Stuart, “should we hesitate to admit an explanation so easy, and so satisfactory, and grounded in the history of the times?”

Two objections have been made to it by Düsterdieck, who proposes a different explanation; the first a philological, the second a doctrinal one. In regard to the first, he maintains that the phrase in verse 11, *καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἑπτὰ ἐστὶ*, cannot well mean “and he is *one of* the seven;” but rather, “he is *sprung*, or *descended from*, the seven.” But this objection would not have been made if Düsterdieck had taken the trouble to consult his Greek concordance. For in Acts xxi. 8 we find the very same phrase used concerning Philip the Evangelist, *ὅντος ἐκ τῶν ἑπτὰ*, “being one of the seven.” A similar ellipsis is found in Apoc. ii. 10, where *ἐξ ὑμῶν* means “*some of you*.” See also Matt. xxiii. 34; Mark xiv. 69; Luke xxii. 58; Apoc. xi. 9. Even if the pronoun *εἷς*, “one,” should not be regarded as understood, the same meaning is obtained by translating, “and belongs to the seven.” This latter use of

the preposition *ἐκ* in the New Testament is too common to need illustration. We conceive, therefore, that this first objection of Düsterdieck proceeded from pure carelessness and want of examination.

The second objection is a very singular one to proceed from him. It is, that it would detract too much from the inspiration of the writer, to suppose that he believed that Nero would reappear as the eighth emperor. But Düsterdieck himself maintains that the Apocalyptist referred to heathen Rome in chap. xvii., and supposed that Domitian, the eighth king, proceeding from the seven, would be the last Roman emperor, and that with his destruction Rome and the Roman empire would wholly come to an end. It seems to us that this is ascribing to the Apocalyptist as great an error as the supposition that he shared the common belief of the times, that Nero would reappear as emperor. Düsterdieck also maintains that the Apocalyptist was in error in regard to his prediction concerning Jerusalem and the inner temple, in chap. xi. It appears to us that, in regard to a wholly unknown writer, no one has a right to say how great a degree of error is consistent either with his inspiration or his intellectual powers.

We are confident, therefore, that the explanation we have given of chap. xvii. 8–11 ought to stand, until one is proposed which affords a better solution of the enigmatical language of the Apocalyptist.

Düsterdieck's exposition of the passage is as follows, as nearly as we can comprehend it:—

1. In chap. xvii. 8 he adopts, in his translation and exposition, the received text, *καίπερ ἐστίν*, "and yet is," instead of the reading universally adopted by critical editors of the New Testament, *καὶ πάρεσται*, "and shall come." This is the more strange, as in the textual critical notes prefixed to this chapter, after having given the authorities for the reading *καὶ πάρεσται*, he says decidedly, "The Elzevir reading *καίπερ ἐστίν* is false." I know not how to account for this inconsistency in a man of so much learning, except on the supposition that he wrote with extreme haste, as if doing his work for Meyer by the job, and may have drawn his translation and exposition from one source, and his remarks on the textual reading from another.

Adopting, then, the reading of verse eighth, pronounced by himself "false," and translating the latter part of it, "when they behold the beast that was, and is not, *and yet is*," he applies it to Vespasian, whom he regards as the sixth head of the beast, and the reigning emperor in the time of the Apocalyptic. He thinks he solves the enigma of the verse by the explanation that the beast, the Roman empire, "*was*" under the five deceased emperors; that "*he was not*" in the time of Vespasian, inasmuch as he, though adopted as emperor by the Oriental legions and the decree of the Senate at Rome, was yet opposed by Vitellius at the head of the German army, and thus his power was not undisputed and unshared; and still that the Apocalypticist might say, "*and yet is*," inasmuch as Vespasian was really emperor, and it was not doubtful what the issue of the conflict between him and Vitellius would be.

The decisive argument against this exposition of verse eighth is, —

1. That it rests on a reading of the Greek text which is now universally rejected as false. In particular Bengel, Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf, Tregelles, and even Düsterdieck himself, have decided against it.

2. And even supposing that the received text might be adopted, who does not see that the exposition is forced and arbitrary, requiring too much knowledge and reflection on the part of the reader? It is true, the enigma is addressed to those "who have wisdom." But the solution of an enigma, when discovered, is expected to be so obvious as to strike all minds.

3. It is also a decisive objection to this explanation, that it gives an application to the phrase "was and is not" of verse eighth, different from that which must be given it in verse eleventh.

Of verses tenth and eleventh, the explanation given by Düsterdieck is as follows. The five kings which have fallen are the deceased emperors, — 1. Augustus; 2. Tiberius; 3. Caligula; 4. Claudius; 5. Nero. The sixth, who was emperor in the time of the Apocalypticist, is Vespasian; the period between Nero and Vespasian, in which the three insurgent princes Galba, Otho, and Vitellius held their power, being regarded as an interregnum. The seventh, who had "not yet come" as

emperor, and who should continue but a short time when he was come, is Titus. The eighth, who, according to Düsterdieck's translation, was derived from the seven, ἐκ τῶν ἑπτά, is Domitian. This emperor, according to Düsterdieck, is not represented by an eighth head of the beast, because the writer designed to embody the whole beast in his person. He is that person in which the beast that "was" under the five deceased emperors, and "is not" under Vespasian and Titus, shall ascend out of the bottomless pit, and, having taken the place of Titus, shall, at the coming of the Lord, be given up to everlasting destruction, and with him the beast itself shall perish, or the Roman empire cease to exist. Düsterdieck thinks the enigma is, that Domitian, who, as a personification of the whole beast, represents all the seven, should yet have his human-personal origin *from* the seven.

If this explanation is confused and obscure, we cannot help it. We are under no obligation to make what we regard an unfounded theory clearer than the author has made it. We will proceed to state briefly our objections to his exposition, so far as we understand it.

1. Domitian was a descendant of *only one* of the seven, namely, Vespasian, according to Düsterdieck's own theory.

2. We cannot see in the text or context any intimation that the eighth king or emperor represented or embodied the whole beast with the whole seven heads, more than each of the seven heads or emperors represented it. This is pure supposition on the part of the expositor. It is true that the eighth emperor is not typified by an eighth head of the beast; but this is well explained by the translation of the verse which we have before endeavored to establish, that "he was *one* of the seven," namely, the fifth, emerging from his hiding-place, or risen from the dead, as the eighth.

3. It is harsh and inconceivable that the whole Roman empire should be represented as "not being," not only at the time when John wrote, but during the reign of Vespasian and his successor, merely because there was civil commotion at the beginning of Vespasian's reign. The representation that the whole beast, or Roman empire, should come out of the bottomless pit in the person of Domitian alone, is also very arbitrary

and incongruous. The representation of the Apocalypse is that the whole Roman empire is the beast, as really so under each of the seven heads as under the eighth emperor. Each head, for the time being, of course represents the whole beast.

4. The explanation of Düsterdieck finds no support in the history of the time; that is, in the circumstances which, according to his own view, were present to the mind of the Apocalypticist. Düsterdieck himself maintains that there was nothing of "a magical or divinatory" character in the prophecy of John, but only a moral judgment in view of the circumstances actually present to his mind in the beginning of the reign of Vespasian. Now Vespasian when he became emperor was only about sixty years old, in good health, at the head of a powerful army. His elder son, Titus, distinguished for genius and energy in civil and military affairs, was about thirty, and was engaged with his father in a fierce war against the country of the Apocalypticist, and was soon left alone to complete the conquest. His distinguished success, and the glorious triumph which followed, have been rendered memorable not only by the pages of history, but by monuments still existing. It is evident, therefore, that Vespasian and Titus gave promise of establishing the empire for some time to come. But Domitian at this time was distinguished only for dissoluteness and cruelty. He was scarcely twenty years old, and had done nothing whatever to distinguish himself in civil or military affairs. Before his father's return from Judæa, he had, for about six months, nominally held the reins of power at Rome. "But," says Merivale, "he was indolent and dissolute, and abandoned himself to intrigue and debauchery. While this young prince's name was affixed to every edict and appointment, the real power in all essential matters remained in the hands of Mucianus."\* It is inconceivable, therefore, that the author of the Apocalypse, living in Asia Minor, where the power and fame of Vespasian and Titus, to whom the attention of the world was then drawn, must be well known to him, and where he would be likely to know little, if anything, of the young prince at distant Rome, should represent the Roman empire as "not being" during the reign of Vespasian and his

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\* Merivale's *History of the Romans*, Vol. VI. p. 480.

successor, Titus, and as emerging from the bottomless pit in the person of Domitian. Every one must have expected a more powerful Roman empire under Vespasian and Titus, than under Domitian. Nor were they less likely to be persecutors of Christians than Domitian. According to Düsterdieck himself, they were regarded by the Apocalyptist as the sixth and seventh heads of the beast.

For all these reasons, we conceive that Düsterdieck's exposition of chap. xvii. 10, 11—according to which the beast *that was*, and *is not*, and is to come as the eighth, denotes that the Roman empire "*was*" under Nero, "*was not*" under Vespasian and Titus, and "*was to be*" in the person of Domitian, as the eighth emperor—is arbitrary and improbable in the highest degree. In regard to fulfilment, it stands on no better ground than the explanation which we have regarded as the most probable. It was not till after a reign of fifteen years that Domitian was assassinated, as other Roman emperors had been. But he was not overcome in a contest with "the Lamb" at the head of Christians, and he was succeeded by other heathen emperors nearly as bad as himself. The beast, or Roman empire, did not come to an end when he died; nor did Christ then appear in person to begin his millennial reign.

While we reject Düsterdieck's exposition of the verses under consideration, we admit that the sixth emperor, who was living in the time of the Apocalyptist, may possibly have been Vespasian rather than Galba, who reigned only about six months. But, as we have before intimated, we are more inclined to believe that John wrote under Galba, the sixth head or emperor, who then was more than seventy years old. If this be so, the writer may have possibly believed that Vespasian would be the seventh; for Josephus, claiming Divine inspiration, but speaking no doubt from his view of what was probable, had promised him the imperial power, even before Nero's death.\* Why might not the same thing appear probable to the Apocalyptist? As to what he says about the seventh emperor's continuing but a short time, it may well be explained by the prevalent expectation of the reappearance of Nero from the dead, or from "the bottomless pit," as John expresses it, to the ruin of his

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\* Josephus, Jewish Wars, Book III. Ch. 8.

enemies. He, in view of the Apocalyptist, was, as the eighth king, accompanied by "ten horns," or leaders of auxiliary forces from the East, to destroy and take the place of the seventh emperor, and then, at the personal coming of Christ to reign, was himself to "go to perdition," being overcome by the Lamb and his followers (ver. 14). Then the Roman empire itself was to be dissolved, and the thousand years' reign of Christ on the earth to begin.

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ART. II.—WORCESTER'S DICTIONARY.

*A Dictionary of the English Language.* By JOSEPH E. WORCESTER, LL. D. Boston: Hickling, Swan, and Brewer. 1860. 4to. pp. lxviii. and 1786.

FOR more than a century past the critics by profession have had reason to dread the reviewing of a new Dictionary. For after Dr. Johnson had circumnavigated the world of literature, and, at last, with his rich folio-galleons came safely into port,—when no less a pilot than the Earl of Chesterfield "came out in his cock-boat" to welcome the great arrival,—the sturdy lexicographer aimed at the head of the too-much-presuming boatman one of those blows of which the memory never dies. He had embalmed the fame of his *patron* in the definition which he gave that word.

The letter which he subsequently addressed to him has been a caution\* to all later reviewers. We need scarcely say, however, that we have no thought of "patronizing" the new Dictionary, in the few words in which we can speak of it. For thirty-three years—the age of a generation of men—Dr. Worcester's editions of Johnson, and his own later work, have been the authority which has corrected these pages. To him we owe it, then, that at the very least we may say

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\* This is not a slang expression, as Mr. Bartlett regards it. Dr. Worcester gives the best authority for it, thus:—

"CÂUTION (kâw-shun, 94), *n.* [L. *cautio*; *caveo*, *cautus*, to beware; Sp. *caucion*; It. *cauzione*; Fr. *caution*.] . . . .

"2. Injunction; advice; precept; *warning*. 'For thy good *caution*, thanks.' SHAK."

for the Christian Examiner, that, of the generation of men now leaving the stage, those who have read these pages have never here received the slightest wound to that delicate sensitiveness by which one judges of his mother tongue. To Dr. Worcester they owe it, that, so long as they anchored to our pages, they had no speculative spray of fancy spelling dashed over their eyes, and that they have not been deluded by any siren songs which proposed any new nap upon the homespun fabric of the language to which they were born. We have given them Saxon warp, with a figure shot in upon it by Norman woof, and we have never insulted their eyes or their understandings by attempting any gloss, borrowed from some New England silk-weed, over this surface. To this policy, in which Dr. Worcester has been our standard, our readers owe it that, so long as they have read the Examiner, they have been in as little danger from heresies of spelling, as, we are proud to say, from heresies of graver science, — falsely so called.

It is only at this moment, of course, that we can with strict propriety analyze, attack, defend, or in any way discuss the Dictionary which for another generation, perhaps, will be the standard of spelling in these pages. After the standard weights are once adopted, the retailer of literature must make his weights conform. It is not for him then to criticise the calculations of the Birds and Katers to whom the standard is due. As we have here a Dictionary of the English language which exhibits it as it is used to-day by those persons who understand it best, — as this Dictionary gives the result of the life of one man who has studied that language with singular advantages, and without any pet theories of his own, through which to look at it, — as in completing it a staff of students has been engaged, embracing men of singular competency for their duty, — as the best special works on various branches of art and science have been compelled to contribute to its treasury, and as the best advice of our oldest University has been given where it was needed, for precision and comprehensiveness, — this book has a fair chance of being, for many years, the standard of the English language. It will only cease to be the standard, when greater resources of the same kind can be brought together, and digested in the compilation of another dictionary.

We are called upon, then, to speak of the Dictionary critically for once, and forever after "to hold our peace." There is yet another reason why we must say something on occasion of its publication. We find our own journal cited in it occasionally as one of the authorities in the English language. We can hardly call this an honor, for it is a distinction which we share with the Slang Dictionary, and even with Dr. Noah Webster. But we feel that the distinction, however earned, gives us a right to state, as we examine the book, some of the principles on which we believe the English language is to be studied and to be preserved.

The statement familiar to most of us regarding the vocabularies of the three leading European languages used to be, that the French people use twenty-five thousand words; the English, forty thousand; and the Germans, sixty thousand. We believe that this statement indicates with tolerable correctness the comparative resources of the three languages as used in familiar speech. But, like many of the current statements of conversation, and like many of the facts stated as novelties in the daily newspapers, it has been in circulation about a century, and refers to a period now as long as a century gone by. Dr. Johnson's Dictionary, in fact, contained about forty thousand words. What he had to say could be said by that machinery. But since his time such frequent excursions have been made into the polar regions of the Old English, beyond the north latitude of Sidney, who was Johnson's oldest limit, — so many words have been created for the exigencies of a passing century, — so many again have been dragged forth from the glossaries of Provincialisms where Johnson left them to die, — and so many detected in the careless writing of a very careless century, — that more than sixty thousand words have been added to Johnson's list, and the Dictionary now published by Dr. Worcester contains one hundred and five thousand words, which have been used by English authors of such repute as to give them some title to a place beside the original phalanx, as Dr. Johnson marshalled it.

The condition of the English language, then, as represented in this Dictionary, is not unlike that of a fast-growing American town. In the town of Boston, for instance, there live at

the present time a very large number of persons who were born here; on the whole, these persons give the character to the town, to its institutions, to its language, to its government. There are, however, intermixed with them, a much larger proportion of persons of foreign parentage. For every forty "natives" there are sixty such "foreigners." This is, as it happens, almost precisely the proportion to be observed in the English language, if we take as natives those words which Dr. Johnson thought worthy of recognition, and regard the additions to his list as old travellers who have returned, or as new emigrants who have arrived since his day. We believe this accidental parallel will serve as a good illustration of the place which these accessions to our language hold. New York, Philadelphia, and Boston welcome gladly the sixty per cent of foreigners as additions to their aboriginal population. But the welcome does not imply any probability that the language spoken in those cities is ever to become a fused tongue, of which forty per cent shall be English, twenty per cent German, as much more Irish, with a little flavor of Welsh, Norwegian, Italian, and Kanacka thrown in. The language is to remain English, as completely as the Constitution remains republican, or the climate temperate rather than arctic or torrid. Precisely the same consideration is due, as we believe, to the so-called additions to our language since the compilation of Johnson. Among the newcomers there are, doubtless, some words which ought to have been included in his lists. There are others born abroad, but of just that mixture of Keltic, Teutonic, and Norman which gives them the native physiognomy and general quality. The rest are useful in a dictionary, — and these are welcome, undoubtedly, — but they are not to be regarded as having any organic place in the constitution of the language. They are, of course, to be registered in any census of it; but it is never to be supposed that the English language of the nineteenth century, as appearing in any standard work of its literature, is to differ from what it was in the eighteenth, by any such variation as that census would indicate. On the other hand, the pure English writer of to-day writes English which would be intelligible to Milton or to Johnson; and yet he so writes it, that the reader of the present time considers that his style belongs completely to the nineteenth century.

We do not, therefore, consider it any especial merit of a new dictionary, that it contains a large number of words which have not been in its predecessors. Whether those words are merely local or personal, as "*equaled*," introduced by Dr. Webster, on the usage of his own writing-desk, or such barbarisms as "*conversationism*" and "*educational*," tolerated by Dr. Worcester on the very poor authority of the Eclectic Review, they are only to be harbored as a sort of Japanese sailors, or of Kanackas,\* whom we send away from us as soon as we can. It is the place of a dictionary to record the fact that such interpolations have been attempted. But it is the place of any person who uses the language to winnow them out from his own threshing-floor, as wretched tare-seed, which will be a pest in his storehouses, and a peril to the harvests of his children.

Dr. Worcester has taken the true course about these emigrants into the English language. It was his business to set them in their alphabetical places, for who shall say that a puzzled reader may not want to know the meaning of such a collocation of letters as *Gambogic*, which affects to be a word, though it is not one. But, while giving them place in his census, which is therefore the fullest list of English words ever used in our time which has been collected, he marks with his fatal R. those which are rarely used. With regard to these words, we advise our readers to use them only as men eat sole-leather, in the last extremities of despair.

On the other hand, Dr. Worcester has never put in a word because he thought it would be well to have one. As little has he put in a letter because it would seem more elegant to have one. And so, again, as he has omitted no words because he thought them useless, he has omitted no letters because he thought them useless. It was an inconvenience of Dr. Webster's Dictionaries, that they exhibited the English language, not even as it was used in the good society of New Haven,—and there is none better in the world,—but as Dr. Webster residing there thought it would be a good plan to have it

\* KA-NACK'A, n. [Sand. Island *Kanaka*, Nukahirau *enata*; root, *gana* Sanscrit, a man.] A native of the Pacific Islands. (The word is in no Dictionary but Bartlett's, but deserves a place as much as *Kamtchadale*, *Padishah*, *Pagack*, or *Kamachi*.)

used. They were like the map of a Kansas town, containing not only what is, but the streets, parks, colleges, and churches which it would be well to have there. The gross scandal of putting these suggestions into a dictionary led to Mr. Goodrich's revision of Dr. Webster's work, in which he carefully inserted the words as they were before they were "improved," as well as with the "improvements." So that, in using that work now, one finds himself dealing at a shop where they have the standard weights and a set of their own,—and the purchaser takes his chance which, in any given instance, he falls upon. Dr. Worcester had no idea of improving on the English language. As little did he attempt to sweep out with his broom the tide-wave of the additions to it. He has therefore given us what is, for better, for worse. The only caution we have to give those who use the book is, to remember that, of what is, a great deal must still be rejected by a conscientious and careful author.

We have taken great pleasure in our study of the etymologies in the new Dictionary. There is nothing for which a dictionary ought to be so often consulted, and yet, we might add, there is no branch of the work of him who makes it, where he may so easily go astray. There is a mania which results from the study of etymology, which we suppose is as distinctly recognized in the lunatic asylums as is religious mania or mathematical mania. The maker of a dictionary must, of course, be constantly watching to save himself from this extravagance. But he is to remember, at the same time, that no one can write or speak the English language with any nicety, without frequent recurrence to the etymologies of its words. Indeed, the only way in which the original English is to be kept in solid phalanx, without injury from its associations with the words of those persons who talk of Kallistons, of Paraffine, and of Euphradian Societies, is a regard for the accurate etymology of the emigrant words and of the natives. From Cotton Mather down, the old school of American scholars, if we may give to them that name, had a passion for seeking the roots of English words in the Hebrew and Arabic. Now, if there is a language spoken this side the planet Venus with which the English has no organic connection, it is one of these

languages of the Semitic family. And it is, therefore, a safe rule, when you see in a dictionary a bit of black-looking Hebrew or Arabic type, to reject it as a mere Matherism inserted for the display of learning. The few Arabic words we have, like Algebra, Alcove, Almanac, are words distinctly transferred from that language by a process which has no relation to the organic life of ours. It is a merit of the new Dictionary that it insults our understanding with no such useless displays. We could wish, on the other hand, however, that it had more often traced back etymologies in important instances to those Aryan roots to which the Sanscrit gives us a key, as the Dictionary itself says, quoting Bosworth, "The Sanscrit contains the roots of the various European dialects of the Latin, Greek, Celtic, German, and Slavonic." There is hardly, therefore, a root of importance, for the study of which the Sanscrit does not afford some suggestions. It is constantly showing the relations between the Teutonic roots of our language and the Latin; which, without our knowledge of it, would seem completely alien to each other. There will never be a complete etymological discussion of our language without constant reference to that great-grandmother of all the modern European languages, from whom our Latin roots and our German roots are both derived. Of this great-grandmother, Sanscrit appears to have been one of the oldest daughters, and it gives us, therefore, very valuable suggestions in our study. The new Dictionary contains more frequent references to Sanscrit roots than any other which we know; but we could wish that these references were still more numerous. At the word *Fowl*, for instance, we have this valuable note:—

"From the Anglo-Saxon *fleogan*, to fly.' *Richardson*. — 'From the root of the Latin *fugio*, *fugo*, Greek *φεύγω*, and signifying the *fly-ing animal*.' *Webster*. — 'The root is the Latin *volo*, to fly.' *Sullivan*."

But how does it happen that the Anglo-Saxon *fleogan* and the Latin *volo* so nearly resemble each other? The Sanscrit verb shows us. It is *paláy*, and, by the inevitable law under which languages grow older, the smooth mute *p* has softened into the sound of *ph*, or *f*.

We are tempted out of our way, to ask how it is that poor

biddy of the barn-yard, to whom we are so constantly indebted for eggs, for white-meat and for dark-meat, should have no other name than this childish one of her own. Under the word *Fowl*, we find: "2. In a restricted sense, a barn-door fowl." *Hen* means the female of any kind of fowl, but particularly the barn-door fowl. *Cock* is the male of gallinaceous or domestic fowls,—especially used for the dung-hill cock; but for poor biddy's only specific name we are indebted to the children.

"BIDDY, *n.* A childish name for a hen or a chicken." The Dictionary does not give the etymology, which is the Norman "*petit*," with which the Norman hen-wives still call their barn-yard fowls and their dung-hill cocks to be fed. So poor biddy, of all the fowls, gets no picture in the Dictionary. The ducks have a picture, and the geese have two; but neither cock (dung-hill cock) nor biddy (gallinaceous hen of the barn-door variety) has any picture at all!

This remark brings us to the question of the pictures in the Dictionary. Ever since John Locke threw out the suggestion, that it would be a good plan to have little marginal cuts in dictionaries, illustrative of the words which cannot be well defined, it has been a convenient thing for reviewers to repeat, when they had occasion to notice a new dictionary. We hardly dare say how often and how gratefully we have availed ourselves of it. At last Dr. Worcester has taken John Locke's hint, which had lain for near two hundred years, and at the same time the Imperial Dictionary in London has tried the same experiment. The illustration gives a new aspect to a dictionary, and, so far as we have observed, the critics generally, having thus lost the opportunity of exhibiting learning by making a reference to Locke, now say that it is not a good plan to have them. The truth is, that critics are not easily pleased.

For ourselves, we are loyal to John Locke, as, wherever we can be in decency, we are apt to be. The pictures here are very well done; they were drawn for this special purpose, and they irritate the minds of those persons who consult the Dictionary much more rapidly than would words more slowly presenting themselves to the ear. It is easy enough to ask

why there are not more, if there are any, — why not a dog, if you have a fox? But, really, in a finite world, these questions of limits are absurd. If the reader suspects that there has been a slight ornithological leaning in the corps of editors, let him suspect it; but shall he not enjoy his dodo and his cassowary, because he has no earth-worm or beetle? The illustrations are very numerous, and are admirably well drawn and engraved.

And so we have at last a good Dictionary. It has all the words in the language which any gentleman ever uses, or any lady; and it has sixty thousand more marked with R., or some other caution. So we have the means of understanding the newspapers, without danger that we shall be contaminated as we do so. The pronunciation of every word is marked; and even if we live in the South Park in the new State of Pike's Peak, we may pronounce our English as well as if we lived in Belgrave Square or in Professors' Row. The words are correctly spelled again, and we can leave the book unlocked, and even put it in the children's way, trusting that they will be attracted to it by the pictures of the walrus and the megapodius, without being afraid of their ever writing us letters about "*unbiased worshipers*," or "*unequaled counselors*," or "*unrivalled hights*." We can refer to the book confidently for etymological information, quite sure that we are not to be entertained by any insane absurdity. And, in the delicate shades of meaning, we can be sure in Dr. Worcester's synonyms to find an intelligible guide who can be relied upon. We of the Examiner can read our proof-sheets, certain that, if a correspondent chooses to discuss Aramæan theology, the Dictionary will tell us how to spell the adjective as we prepare his notes for the press. And when that moment comes to any of us, — which comes sooner or later to all, — when we wish to leave the snow-drifts of expiring March for the softer breezes of Oregon, of California, of San Antonio, or of the South Park, — in considering the plans for our emigration, we need make room only for Shakespeare and this Dictionary, as the two worldly books absolutely necessary, with which we may establish our section of a new civilization.

## ART. III. — THE WHITE HILLS.

*The White Hills ; their Legends, Landscape, and Poetry.* By THOMAS STARR KING. With Sixty Illustrations, engraved by Andrew, from Drawings by Wheelock. Boston: Crosby, Nichols, Lee, & Co. 1860. pp. 403.

WHAT peculiar phenomenon would be likely to arrest the attention of an "intelligent stranger," taking a bird's-eye view of that portion of the North American continent lying between the 36th and 46th degrees of latitude, and the 70th and 90th degrees of longitude? Would he not mark with surprise, that the lines of an advanced civilization run near by and into comparative wildernesses,—that railroads and canals, with cultivated farms, thriving towns, and opulent cities threaded upon them, dart across prairies, wind over lofty hills, and flash through ample valleys,—that the improvements and luxury of the age glide up to the very sources of great rivers, nestle on the outskirts of unexplored forests, take possession of the brinks of waterfalls, sprinkle the shores of oceanic lakes,—the smoke of the steam-engine chasing away the smoke of the wigwam, the satin-slipped feet of fashion tripping along paths just before pressed by the moccason of savage life? Would he not, in a word, be struck by the fact, that the varied territory under his comprehensive glance was hardly more than fringed and intersected and spotted by the conquest and occupation of a marvellous and restless material prosperity, and that thus were brought into contrast wonderful creations of human enterprise, and vast districts in all the untamed sublimity, unadorned beauty, and unbroken solitude which were theirs ages before the keel of the discoverer ploughed the first furrow on the Atlantic? And if our imagined observer sought for the cause or explanation of this contrast, would he not find it distinctly recorded in the first chapters of our history? There it is written, that the Mayflower brought to Plymouth Rock pioneer missionaries of the best culture the training of sixteen centuries had produced, and that this advance was followed by hosts like unto itself. So the settlement of the land may be said to have been begun

by a disciplined race, intellectually and morally stalwart, fitted to make the wilderness blossom, and to transmit to posterity the energy, boldness, and skill to penetrate the wildest country with the comforts and embellishments of science and art, and draw out from its hidden places, by bold engineering of various sorts, opulence for their enlarging cities. Thus, then, is accounted for the singular condition of things we have adverted to, — the existence, namely, to so large an extent, of the multiform achievements of human enterprise side by side with nature as it came from the Creator's hand.

We thus bring into view an interesting subject for speculation in many ways; but the allusion to it now is for a special and limited purpose. One of its consequences is an unparalleled amount of travel for pleasure, as well as business. Tourists seeking recreation from wearisome toil, or obeying the edicts of despotic fashion, congregate at watering-places, muster at springs, sail over inland seas, gather at Niagaras and Trentons, and flee to the mountains by thousands every year. This universal journeying must obviously have large influence upon the character of the people, and be, for good or evil, no small part of their education. Any effort, therefore, to instruct the travelling public, — to show how play-time may be put to noble uses, without any loss of enjoyment, — to teach how the God-made country may and ought to elevate and refine the man-made town, — is to be welcomed as a benefaction. And it is because we look upon the volume named at the head of this article as such an effort, promising wide success, that we take it up for a more extended review than we have heretofore been able to give it, — to do what we can to have it read in all the households to which we have access, before trunks are packed for summer excursions.

In a former notice,\* we sketched the plan of the book, and praised the typographical elegance and profuse illustration, which put it in the first class among the handsomest issues of the American press. But we confess to a slight reluctance in thus recalling our commendation. As it is sometimes disturbing to have the personal attractions and graceful bearing of a

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\* *Christian Examiner* for January, 1860, page 142.

friend admired to the overlooking of his superior intellectual and moral worth, so we cannot help being a little anxious lest the fair appearance of this volume may conceal the richness of thought, the affluence of knowledge, and the poetry impressed upon its tinted, creamy paper. We should earnestly caution our readers not to look upon it merely as a centre-table gift-book, to be turned over in leisure moments or at evening parties, did we not hope to prove before we close that it deserves repeated perusals, and careful study, — that, like its subjects, its meaning cannot be read by a hasty and superficial eye.

These four hundred pages of descriptive discourse about "the Cathedral district of New Hampshire" contain the most elaborate attempt to picture to the mind's eye the grandeur and beauty of natural scenery which has graced our native literature. In comprehensiveness of outline and fulness of filling up, in unity of purpose and abundance and variety of matter, it stands alone as the most finished work of its kind, — a volume of æsthetic teaching thus far without a rival; and consequently it has a value transcending the well-executed, ostensible object of dealing only with a specified and limited province of New England. But its local worth is first to be considered.

Taking up an essay upon any subject, it is natural to ask what are the qualifications of the writer for the office he assumes. In the present instance the answer is perfectly satisfactory. Even the stranger reader may learn from the work itself what the friends of the author well knew before its publication, that no one is more competent than he to tell all that is to be known, seen, and felt among and in the vicinity of the White Hills. Led by what seems almost a natural instinct, he has lived weeks and months, for half a score of summers, at the mountains, and visited them repeatedly at all seasons of the year. He has mined their ravines, climbed their summits by old and new paths, gone up and down their "notches," traced their streams, made the circuit of them again and again, looked at them from numerous points of view, noted their changeful moods, analyzed them, separated them, grouped them, communed with them in every possible way with the senses; and

this not from love of adventure, but because he was fascinated by the huge upheavals, and enamored of them and all their surroundings. Hence one peculiar charm of his work. It is evidently a labor of love, with but few signs of labor in it, — a spontaneous production, a speaking from the abundance of the heart. It is not a piece of book-making; you never dream of insulting the author by the suspicion that he went among the hills with malice prepense to get materials for his pen. You feel — so much honest enthusiasm and frank confession of a dominant passion is there in the book — that he accepted the solicitation to write, much as one would yield to the request to prepare the memoirs of a dear friend, — coveting a pleasure, rather than girding himself to a task. Indeed, if a man is what he thinks and feels, and not what he does, we have here rare passages from the autobiography of the writer's soul. With the eye and sensibility of an artist, if not with his cunning pencil, with the imagination of the poet, if not with his rhythmical skill, Mr. King looks, and meditates, and gathers in all the forms and hues of the vast, shifting, rugged, and soft panoramas, for a personal delight, and then brings out his accumulated treasures, freely and gladly, for the delight of others.

Another gift of the author is his power of expression. He commands an inexhaustible vocabulary. Epithets, metaphors, and similitudes press to his service in any quantity and in any shape he wills. His palette is crowded with every hue and shade of language, and his rhetoric becomes painting. The book is a gallery of pictures abounding in variety. The style represents the subject. Paragraphs and sentences and phrases are gloomy and solid, or light and airy; they float or rest, ripple or undulate, leap or glide, flame or sparkle, shift and play, put on and take off all the qualities the respective themes demand. A study of the book will show this is no over-statement. One of its prominent merits is the variety and ease of diction, where the exposure to sameness and stiffness appears almost irresistible. Justice is done to the mountain, as contrasted with the meadow; the silvery cascade, as distinct from the ponderous cataract; the sweet vitality of the intervalles, as the opposite of the cold, dead desolateness of the rocky "passes;" — justice

is done to every grace and force, to all the lines and colors, frowns and smiles, — all the peculiarities of feature and mobility of expression, from the largest to the minutest characteristic, of a series of diversified landscapes, by a style having the flexibleness of music, to embody every desired tone, keep to every requisite movement, and execute the most intricate variations. Relatively speaking, this rhetoric is nearly, if not quite, perfect as to form; whilst it throbs and glows with warm, emotive life.

But the author is receptive as well as original, and so duplicates himself, and adds to his own versatility the co-operation of other minds. Losing nothing of his individuality, he makes a wise selection and a wise use of mental friends, and enriches his pages with an abundance of apt selections, in prose and poetry, borrowing the voices of kindred interpreters to echo and confirm his own utterances. When we add to this, that the volume is written in a reverent spirit, and at the same time in a joyous temper, — the latter no more inconsistent with the former than the play of sunlit vapors around its summit is inconsistent with the solemnity and aspiration of Mount Washington, — there can be no doubt that in *Mr. King the White Hills* have found the genius, talents, and acquirements qualifying him to be their historian, poet, and painter.

Thus thoroughly trained and furnished, the author gives us a work of rare local value. We could have spared the strictly guide-book portion; but since it is introduced, it is but fair to say that it is well done, giving all the topographical information the tourist needs, with the simplicity and clearness of a well-drawn map, — the thin and barren outlines being occasionally illuminated with exquisite "bits" of description, which, in spite of the writer's self-restraint, will flash out to decorate his most prosaic statements. The compendious chapters on the *Exploration and Vegetation of the White Hills* (contributed by Professor Tuckerman), the vivid description of the deluge of 1826 and the destruction of the Willey family, the sad romance of Nancy's Brook, the tradition that adds to the peculiar fascination of the "steel-hooded head" of Chocorua, the sympathetic narrative of the hardihood and hardships of the early settlers, the brief biographies of the patriarch Abel Crawford and his son

Ethan, are pertinent, and serve, with occasional short episodes hinting geological and meteorological facts, to relieve the long series of word-paintings, that might otherwise fatigue and satiate with their superabundant richness. But these word-paintings, and the comments upon them, are the engrossing attraction. The reader is to become the companion of the author, and go with him through the four valleys, hearing him discourse, and learning from him where, when, and how to look so as to feast his eyes, educate his taste, and refresh and elevate his spirit. By doing this, he will learn how little a flying trip or a fashionable tour to the mountains discovers of the sublimity and beauty revealed to those who dwell among them for a while, and commune with them with a studious earnestness. And herein lies an excellence deserving special attention, — that of making the scenery of a remarkable district, easily reached and explored, better understood. The White Hills are not yet known as they should be, and will be. We have no dispute with those who prefer the sea-shore to the mountains. We do not doubt that other countries, and other portions of this country, have far loftier summits, grander rivers, mightier cataracts, vaster plains, than those which diversify the surface of Northern New Hampshire. We admit that the White Hills are neither the Andes nor the Alps, and that it verges upon the vice of Yankee self-glorification to compare Coos County in the Granite State with Switzerland. And yet we maintain that the district, of which this volume treats so admiringly, is one which every lover and student of nature may well hold in high esteem. For variety of feature, loveliness, and relative, if not absolute grandeur, it is a district, or more properly speaking a part of a district, full of banquets for the eye and ennobling suggestions to the soul. It would be a pleasant task to follow the details of Mr. King's demonstration of this fact. But we can only pause with him at a few points of his extensive survey.

At the threshold, as it were, of two of the valley-entrances lies "The Smile of the Great Spirit," or "Pleasant Water in High Places," — whichever may be the correct philological — either of them being the true poetical and descriptive — rendering of "Winnipiseogee." Our author is so in love with this

lake, and lavishes upon it such wealth of verbal delineation, that, until further reading convinces us of the contrary, we are disposed to fear he will have neither affection nor language left for any other scene. He fills some thirty pages with his own and the poets' eulogy of this island-studded, hill-guarded sheet of water, as if it had been the business and pleasure of his life to live upon its shores and float on its bosom, to note and record all its phases. From this brilliant and eloquent chapter we take fragmentary extracts, — all we have room for, — as significant in intimation as they are faithful in portraiture.

"Many persons suppose that they have seen Winnipiseogée in passing over it in the steamer on their way to Conway and 'The Notch.' Seen the lake! Which lake? There are a thousand. It is a chameleon. It is not a steady sapphire set in green, but an opal. Under no two skies or winds is it the same. It is gray, it is blue, it is olive, it is azure, it is purple, at the will of the breezes, the clouds, the hours. Sail over it on some afternoon when the sky is laden with northeast mists, and you can see the simple beauty of form in which its shores and guards are sculptured. This is the permanent lake which prosaic geology has filled and feeds. And this was placed there to display the riches of color in which the infiniteness of the Creator's art is revealed to us more than in the scale of space. . . .

"If the lake were to be painted as it may sometimes be seen in the forenoon of a day when clouds are flying over the sun, the water should be dyed the intensest blue, with a single horizontal line of white towards the farthest shore. But if the painter is to report it as it appears a few moments after, when the sun emerges from the clouds, he must make a picture in which there is no deep blue, nor any definite color, but one broad field of glittering and tremulous brightness. Another picture would show the azure surface deepened to indigo, and its usually dark islands rising out light upon the darkness around them. Under a drapery of drowsy clouds, when the shores cut harshly the gray water that is ruffled by the lazy wind, the canvas can glow with no splendors, but will suggest chiefly the throbbing sound of the wavelets that crumble upon the clean beaches

In tender curving lines of creamy spray.

A view taken in smoky weather will show the lake with its delicate web of cross ripples as a beautiful lace-pattern, miles in extent, tinted pale blue, cream-white, and rosy gray. Or as the charming Proteus appears on some clear, calm evening, the artist that copies it must

stripe the canvas with different-colored zones of varying widths, some opaque, others transparent, according as they reflect the glowing tints of the lower, or the cooler lights of the upper sky.

"And now and then a thunder-shower, in an afternoon when the sunlight gently shimmers over its breadth, comes to try its resources in color effects. It sweeps low across it with slaty wings, and blots out the islands and blackens the water with its rough breath and angry shade. Watch now, after the gusts of rain are spent, the inky darkness of the upper end of the lake. But the islands farther away, just coming into the returning light out of the cloud-fringe, show a white lustre as of new-fallen snow. And when the wrath of the tempest has retreated towards the sea, one can have the privilege, from the hills of Centre Harbor, of seeing a rainbow span the lake, succeeded, perhaps, by a sunset in which the whole surface of the water, responding to the hues above, outvies the rainbow with gorgeous flames.

"A more sensitive eye will not fail to notice the variety of sunset effects by which Winnipiseogee is glorified. The great wreaths of gray and white cumuli, which sailed slowly around the skies' verge during the day, will sometimes melt into the uprising mists of evening, and belt the horizon with a delicate zone of violet and gray. What an exquisite veil is this for the shadowed parts of the hills around the southerly shores of the lake, and what a fascinating contrast to the fine pencillings of pale reddish hues on their sunward outlines! Another evening, the hills are not obscured thus. They stretch a long chain of azure and purple under the southern sky, which is filled over and back of them with masses of irregular, flaky, low clouds of orange, violet, and gray, that float before rich fields of creamy cirrus. These hues run an octave higher than those on the mountains below, and the sunbeams vivify them still more here and there with yellow curves and jagged lines of scarlet. . . . .

"September is the transition period, from the styles or effects of color in the season's time of growth, to those belonging to the period of decline and decay. As yet the landscape has lost nothing of the fulness of its summer foliage. But richer tints gradually steal into the shadows and darker tones of the landscape, warming the coolness, and breaking the monotony, with flashes of crimson and orange. More purple is shown in the distances of the lake, with richer browns and lighter olives and citrine upon the foregrounds. Nature seems to be carelessly running her hand over the notes, touching and indicating the great chords, before breaking into the full pomp of the autumn symphony.

"And as October comes near, the pale green of the plentiful birches

mounts into yellow. Some of the maples have turned to scarlet, others orange, others a dull or pale red. The oaks and hardier trees show deep crimson stains running among their dark green masses. The grass-grounds or pastures are becoming yellow. The bared ledges and boulders, so quiet and shy in their light gray suits of summer, stand out conspicuous in blue and purple; and the humble sumachs have advanced from their shadowed places, and are calling attention to their red and yellow plumes. On the borders of the little streams or pools in the meadows, the pink and purple clusters of the thoroughwort blossoms, the blue and white asters, and the epaulet flowers are in their prime; a deep red mingles with the olive of the ferns, and the sweet-brier is hung thick with scarlet berries. These colors mounting and growing richer in hue and mass give the tone to the landscape seen around Winnipiseogee in mid-October." — pp. 71-76.

Reluctantly leaving Winnipiseogee, — notwithstanding the anticipation of finer sights to come, — our friend takes us to the pretty village of Plymouth, giving, as we surmount the hills, picturesque views of Great and Little Squam Lake, — vile names for things of beauty. Thence he passes on through Campton, where artists are wont to hover in search of "bits" of the utmost grace, and, as he approaches the mountains, discourses of their high uses until he reaches the Franconia range. Here, as all along the way, he allows nothing to escape his pencil-pen. He outlines and tints all the well-known scenes and objects of interest, — often throwing upon them new light, and photographing them with such distinctness, force, and warmth, that the accompanying engravings become pale and thin and cold beside the flush and feeling of his verbal picturing. From what he has to say of this locality, whose grandeur is softened — we had almost said sanctified — by its loveliness, we can quote only two brief passages. We select the first, to show that the writer's enthusiasm for natural scenery does not prevent him, in the very presence of its noblest specimens, from going above and beyond them with penetrating and reverent thought. After describing the much-wondered-at "Profile," he says: —

"And many, doubtless, have looked up with awe to the Great Stone Face, with a feeling that grander expression of the Infinite power and art is suggested in it than in any mortal countenance. 'Is not this a

place," we have heard it said, 'to feel the insignificance of man?' Yes, before God, perhaps, but not before matter. The rude volcanic force that puffed the molten rocks into bubbles, has lifted nothing so marvellous in structure as a human skeleton. The earthquakes and the frosts that have shaken and gnawed the granite of Mount Cannon into the rough semblance of an intelligent physiognomy, are not to be compared for wonder to the slow action of the chemistries that groove, chasten, and tint the bones and tissues of a human head into correspondence with the soul that animates it, as it grows in wisdom and moral beauty. The life that veins and girdles the noblest mountain on the earth, is shallow to the play of vital energies within a human frame.

No mountain can  
Measure with a perfect man.

The round globe itself is only the background upon which the human face is chiselled. Each one of us *wears* more of the Infinite art, is housed in more of the Infinite beneficence, than is woven into the whole material vesture of New Hampshire. And the mind that can sap the mountain, untwist its structure, and digest the truth it hides, — the taste that enjoys its form and draperies, — the soul whose solemn joy, stirred at first by the spring of its peaks, and the strength of its buttresses, mounts to Him who 'toucheth the hills and they smoke,' — these are the voyagers for which the Creator built

this round sky-cleaving boat,  
Which never strains its rocky beams;  
Whose timbers, as they silent float,  
Alps and Caucasus uprear,  
And the long Alleghanies here,  
And all town-sprinkled lands that be,  
Sailing through stars with all their history."

— pp. 113, 114.

Our next extract is made for its suggestive conceit, which gives a new and poetic charm to that "little tarn that is rimmed by the undisturbed wilderness," — "better, worth visiting" towards evening "for its echoes of color than of sound."

"We have heard of persons that were called 'embodied sympathies. Is not this the true definition of a little mountain lake? It is a mirror, an interpreter of what enfolds and oversweeps it. See what colors and forms it is stained with or hides! The little segment of beach it repeats. The rocks around it it sets below as part of the wall of its under stillness. The climbing trees and the shadow of the steep shores make

a large section of its borders dim with dusky green. The sky hues, blue or gray, brilliant or sober, dull or joyous, it clothes itself with. It answers to the temper of the wind, with smiling ripples, or slaty churlishness, or heaving petulance. It is glad in the colors of sunrise, and pensive as the flames of sunset cool in the west. Hardly a rod of its surface wears any color, when you look at it steadily, that can be said to belong to itself. And yet it does not merely mimic what is shown to it. It takes the moods of mountain, woods, and firmament into its own being, softly flashes their joy, or is saturated with their grief, and repeats to them their experience, as the heart of a friend returns the color of our fortunes or our moods. The mountains stand in Nature's eloquent hieroglyphics as the types of sturdy and suffering service; the rivers, for unwearied, cheering, life-renewing charities; the little lakes, for the beauty, the sweetness, the refreshment of that noiseless sympathy, not revealing itself in the new products of an active beneficence like the moving waters,—from the rills that gush through tiny lanes of grass to streams that overflow bounty upon the meadows,—but which none the less belongs to the exquisite and sacred ministries of love upon the earth, without which the world would be 'a dry and thirsty land where no water is.'—pp. 115–117.

Leaving the Pemigewasset, which is the western valley, we must next find ourselves with our guiding interpreter—(who has been confessing on the road, as he does whenever opportunity offers, his passion for massive, symmetrical, jagged-peaked Chocorua,—“everything that a New Hampshire mountain should be”)—in the valley of the Saco. We linger at North Conway, “a little quotation from Arcadia, or a suburb of Paradise,” and are tempted to report all our author says, to justify the application of his figurative synonymes, at first sound seemingly so extravagant. But we must content ourselves with copying only a line or two of his hearty and satisfactory testimony.

“And then the sunsets of North Conway! Coleridge asked Mont Blanc if he had ‘a charm to stay the morning star in his steep course.’ It is time for some poet to put the question to those bewitching elm-sprinkled acres that border the Saco, by what sorcery they evoke, evening after evening, upon the heavens that watch them, such lavish and Italian bloom. Nay, it is not Italian, for the basis of its beauty is pure blue, and the skies of Italy are not nearly so blue as those of New England. One sees more clear sky in eight summer weeks in Conway,

probably, than in the compass of an Italian year. The air of Italy is more opalescent, and seems to hold the light in luscious repose, and yet a little unsteady in tint. But for the pomp of bright, clear, contrasted flames on a deep and transparent sky, the visitors of North Conway, on the sunset bank that overlooks the meadows, enjoy the frequent privilege of a spectacle which the sun sinking behind the Notch con-jures for them, such as he rarely displays to the dwellers by the Arno or the inhabitants of Naples. How often have we seen such shows from that bank, while the evening song of birds came up from the near orchards and the distant maple-groves of the meadows below, as it seemed too wasteful in Nature to have prepared for the fading canopy of one small village and of one summer evening! Then was the time for the miracle of Joshua, — for some artist-priest, like Turner, to bid the sun stand still, that such gorgeousness might be a garniture of more than a few rapid moments upon the cloud-flecked pavilion of the air. And as the brightness burned off from the hills behind, and the hasten-ing fire mounted from the lower clouds to stain the cirrus, and the west began to glow with the upcast beams of the sunken sun, one could not but feel the aspiration connected with the fleeting magnificence of sun-set, which is not the least marvellous passage of Goethe's Faust. We are indebted for the translation to the kindness of a friend, whose knowledge of German is equalled only by his artistic command of English, and who has given a full equivalent of the original in rhythm and grace.

He yields, he vanishes, the day is gone,  
Yonder he speeds, and sheds new life forever.  
O, had I wings to rise and follow on  
Still after him with fond endeavor!  
Then should I see beneath my feet  
The still world's everlasting vesper,  
Each summit tipped with fire, each valley's silence sweet,  
The silver brook, the river's molten jasper.  
And naught should stay my God-competing flight,  
Though savage mountains now with all their ravines,  
And now the ocean with its tempered havens,  
Successive greet the astonished sight.  
The God at length appears as he were sinking;  
But still the impulse is renewed,  
I hasten on, the light eternal drinking,  
The day pursuing, by the night pursued,  
The heavens above, and under me the billows.  
A pleasant dream! Meanwhile the sun has fled.  
In vain, alas! the spirit's wings are spread,  
Never will bodily wings appear as fellows."

The chapter on The Notch — erroneously regarded by many as the one thing to see in a journey to the White Hills — is interesting to read, since in it are the history of the Willey tragedy, with Dr. Parsons's ballad founded upon it, and the sketches of the Crawfords, before referred to. There also are descriptions of cascades and mountain views in the vicinity, limned with the author's usual expressiveness. But the great pass itself, in all its awful sternness and barren desolation, — that precipice-walled, jagged, seamed, terrific gorge, wherein the elements, earthquakes, thunder-storms, floods, and avalanches have spent their fury, working destruction with Titanic force and frenzy, — the pass itself has too much of unity and sameness, in its fearful and oppressive solemnity, to admit of varied description. Our author, therefore, — who instinctively shuns the horrible to cleave to the beautiful whenever he can, thus strives to cast softening light upon this dreary chasm, — this petrification of Nature's wrathful moods.

“But to know the Notch truly, one must take the drive from the Crawford House to the top of Mount Willard, and look down into it. A man stands there as an ant might stand on the edge of a huge tureen. We are lifted twelve hundred feet over the gulf on the brink of an almost perpendicular wall, and see the sides, Webster and Willey, rising on either hand eight hundred feet higher still, and running off two or three miles towards the Willey House. The road below is a mere bird-track. The long battlements that, from the front of the Willey House, tower on each side so savagely, from this point seem to flow down in charming curves to meet at the stream, which looks like the slender keel from which spring up the ribs that form the hold of a tremendous line-of-battle ship on the stocks. But perhaps we suggest a more exact and noble comparison if we speak of its resemblance to the trough of the sea in a storm. They are earth-waves, these curving walls that front each other. They were flung up thus, it may be, in the passion of the boiling land, and stiffened before they could dash their liquid granite against each other, or subside by successive oscillations into calm. . . . .

“Standing over the Notch, also, we are struck with the grace that curbed the rage of the murderous avalanches. We remember talking once with a man who was very indignant at all poetic descriptions of natural scenery. ‘Now,’ said he, ‘what can be honestly said of this Willey Notch, but, “Good Heavens, what a rough hole!”’ Yet, on

Mount Willard, it is the delicacy of slope and curve, and not the roughness, that is prominent. 'Strength and beauty are in his sanctuary,' and it is beauty which the savage forces serve at last. The waste of the mountains is not destructive, but creative. In the long run, the ravage of the avalanche is beneficent. And here we see how, as its apparent cruelty is overruled by the law of love, its apparent disorder is overruled by the law of loveliness. 'The hand of God, leading the wrath of the torrent to minister to the life of mankind, guides also its grim surges by the law of their delight; and bridles the bounding rocks, and appeases the flying foam, till they lie down in the same lines that lead forth the fibres of the down on a cygnet's breast.' — pp. 203 – 205.

It was something of a mistake, in our judgment, to put the valley of the Connecticut last in the book, if the author's plan had any eye to climax. That place belongs to the Androscoggin as the fit culmination, — inasmuch as there the mountains proper, with their monarch, tower up to receive a nearly undivided worship. We shall take the liberty, therefore, to reverse the arrangement, and go north before going east. And yet our guide will not quite let us do this. His sense of the artistic fitness of things rebels occasionally against the limitations of his plan. Even in this chapter we find him in the Glen, or skirting the base of Madison, or unrolling the whole panorama of the magnificent ride from Gorham to Crawford's by the "Cherry Mountain Road," and indulging, whenever and wherever he can find excuse for so doing, in graphic pictures of "distant views" of the great ranges. The representative passages we select, besides furnishing a strong contrast, will exemplify still further the writer's versatility. "Winter effects," from Lancaster and elsewhere, are thus given: —

"If one could enjoy the open air as freely, and find it as genial, in the winter as in the summer, we cannot doubt that the colors on the bleached landscapes would be found as inviting as those which blend into the summer pomp. The distant views of the great range in summer are certainly far inferior to those we enjoyed in the approach to them in March, when it swelled soft, vague, and golden, — a pigmy Monte Rosa, on the northwestern sky. Lafayette has never shown itself to such advantage in July as it did then from Lancaster at evening, when the blustering clouds parted to let its white wedge be visible, burnished to an amber blaze by the setting sun, and driven as one crys-

tal into the chilly sky. . . . On all the bald ridges and crests the silver splendor was relieved against the blue. This makes the richest charm of the Alps; and one could then drive among the White Hills as through a mimic Switzerland. Yes, and the colors must have been essentially the same. For the artist that would paint the magnificence we saw on the Pilot Hills and the White Mountain range at sunset and sunrise from Lancaster, must dip his brush into as exquisite ambers, plum tints, gold, and purple, as he would need to interpret the baptism of the evening upon Mont Blanc, or the morning glow upon the Jungfrau.

“During the same visit we enjoyed a ride among the familiar hills of the Androscoggin Valley, and can recall the contrast to the general wildness given by a drive from Gorham to the Glen. The high walls which guard that road from the northwesterners had saved the snow from drifts. It lay for six miles perfectly even, to the depth of some six inches, without blemish; and unbroken, except by a large sled-load of hay that had been driven over it, and which, overhanging the runners, had left delicately pencilled lines all along the untrodden margins of the path. The green on Carter and Moriah, at the left, was turned into rusty bronze, and the snow which shone through the stripped trees around the roots of the forests made their sombre sides look as though they had been powdered with crystal dust. Every blackened stump along the roadside seemed an Ethiopian head crowned with a graceful and stainless turban. Each rock in the river-bed showed a fantastic nightcap. The springs were ‘stagnant with wrinkling frost.’ And at every turn, old Washington was bulging into the cold and brilliant blue with irregular whiteness; or Madison, in more feminine symmetry, displayed a fresh view of sloping shoulders clasped to the waist in ermine.

“But the most impressive features of the scene were those which started out by moonlight. Then, with the thermometer at twelve below zero, and the wind cutting as you drove against it, as if determined to bite into the brain, one might easily fancy himself in an arctic latitude. The full moon turned the great hills into ghastly domes and pyramids of chalk. The air seemed weird. There was no sound of brawling brooks, or running river, or chirping insect life, as in summer. The stars flashed without sympathy in the bleak sky. Going from such a ride to the volumes of the lamented and heroic Kane, we could understand better the pictures that line the memory of the survivors of that devoted band. Those stiff, white peaks towered as gravestones over the creative forces that once filled the valley with joy, and painted it with verdure.

“But what, we thought, is so mystic as the processes of Providence

most familiar to us! Only a few weeks will pass before the frosty whiteness shall be chipped from those cliffs; the crystal splinters that fly from the sunbeams' chisels will melt into music, and feed the mosses of the mountain-top, and sing in the rills that dance towards the sea; and the stars will glow over the bursting promise of June." — pp. 377–379.

Crispy, frosty, sharp, crystallized, and hard the descriptive diction here! But see how it can melt, rush, and flow, and fling the freshness and brightness of sunshine and rainbow hues on the drenched earth, when occasion requires. After being locked up in the Franconia Notch by a long storm, the author seizes the opportunity of a brief "holding up" to escape, and, with "a patch of blue overhead," he takes to the wagon, and is off.

"Every note in the scale of fresh-water music was struck by the full baptism of those persistent clouds. You could hear the plash and babble of a new-born streamlet, — the first infant cooing of a river, — as it came soft over the bent grass; the dash down a channelled bank of a rivulet; the full-throated gurgle of a runnel through a rocky passage; the singing of a rill that swept across a pasture and dived under the little corduroy bridges of the road; the anxious baritone of a hurrying stream that seemed fearful it could not do all the business it had on hand for that day. The air was filled with the chorus of the rain. . . . . The great business of the hill-tops, during the drought, seemed to be to conjure the rain for the parching fields; now, they had their hands full to get rid of the superfluity. The cataracts and cascades are tasked to their utmost. No room for beauty now. Duty and use are the overseers of to-day. Next week, the feathery spray may break over the rocks, and the thin tides break themselves in silvery platings among the forest dells and chasms, over the mossy stones; but now, all the scuppers of the mountains must spout to save the pastures and harvests from ruin. . . . .

"And now let us take a ride towards the village of Jefferson. Can anything be more fascinating than those ripples of shadow that flow down the twin peaks of Madison and Adams, chased by flushes of sunshine, which again are followed by thin waves of gloom? Let the horse walk as slowly as he will, while we feast on this thrilling unsteadiness of vesture that wanders and widens from pinnacle to base. Ride on, till summit after summit of the White Mountain chain comes out, and then return, facing their broad fortresses of forest crowned with naked rock. Notice how the shadows spot them alternately, so that

- Washington and Adams are kindled into light, while Madison and Jefferson are black-muzzled with darkness. Look at the flashes of sunlight on the hills, that turn acres of the clean-washed wilderness into patches of shining satin. Watch that deep shadow drop from a burly cloud to spread a velvet cloak on the mountain. Look off now, as the village of Jefferson lies at your feet, and see the Green Mountains, the Pliny Hills, the Franconia range stand up as exhibition figures to show off the deep furs, the silky lights, the velvets, brown, blue, and blue-black, that are woven out of the sky looms to-day, to invest them.

"But the most surprising beauty awaits us as we ride opposite the great ravine of Mount Adams, and look far up to the cascades, with which the rains have enlivened its cliffs and sides. Now for a display of mountain jewelry, such as is rarely seen. A long, narrow, leaping stream gleams aloft, — a chain of diamonds dropped from the neck down the bosom of the mountain. The sun looks full upon it, while the wings of the ravine are in deep shadow, and you see a broad wrapper adorned from the collar downwards with flashing gems. They blaze like lumps of sunshine, — like the diamonds on the crown of the skeleton in the pass, upon which young Arthur trod,

and the skull

Brake from the nape, and from the skull the crown  
Rolled into light, and, turning on its rims,  
Fled like a glittering rivulet to the tarn.

The shadow falls upon the cataract, and it is quenched, — put out more quickly than its own water would extinguish a small fire. It does not seem possible that a shadow can so utterly cancel all traces of the lovely sheen which lay in the gorge a moment before. But, if we watch the passing away of the shade, we shall see the sunlight strike the top of it again, and run down, waking diamond after diamond into glow, till the string is all alive again. Near this thread of brilliants is a huge rock over which a stream of water is falling, and *that* blazes like a mighty Koh-i-noor. The shadow ripples over that, too, and quenches it. It flows off, and instantly the rock burns again in the meridian light. O the splendor of this picture! We stop the wagon to watch the curious wrestle of the waters, — vapor destroying the dazzling glory that leaps from water; we can hardly tear ourselves from the charming show of the sun's repeated gift of jewels, and the clouds' continually renewing envy." — pp. 385–388.

If any bias is to be detected in our author, it is for the Androscoggin Valley, — though Winnipiseogee and North Conway

are unquestionable rivals in his affections. One reason for this apparent partiality may be that the eastern side has been made accessible more recently than the other sides, and has more of novelty and surprise for the tourist. But besides this, there is in, around, above, and below Gorham enough to warrant the strongest expressions of enthusiasm. From the full portfolio of gorgeous and delicately-tinted finished drawings and bold, vigorous sketches Mr. King brings from this section, we can exhibit but a few specimens, as invitation to a study of the whole collection.

About four miles below the Alpine House, the river is crossed by the Lead Mine Bridge. From this point the following rapturous paragraphs come with their ecstatic fervor.

"Ah, what charming effects have we not seen on Mount Madison from this bridge, conjured by the clouds and sun! The gold on the sharp apex of its pyramid in the early morning; the ever-shifting perplexity of lights and gloom investing it in a sultry noon when thunder-clouds sail over it; and at sunset once or twice in dog-days, volcano-pictures, when piles of vapor that towered over it and buried the summit were lurid around the lower edges, and seemed to burst from a fiery heart within, as the sides of the mountain were kindled almost to a ruby hue by the last beams of day! It is not a single mountain, but a gallery of pictures, that Madison stands for in our memory. See it in a clear and tender afternoon, and how delicately every lower ridge in its foreground is hinted by the western light, that reveals no shrub, no forest, no precipice, but only symmetry and softness, and a proud height in perfect proportion with its mass and slope, piercing an azure heaven with a double peak of tender brown! We may measure its altitude now in feet by our angles, and find that its summit is nearly a mile from the level where we stand; we may exhaust what science can tell of its substance and strata; but all the truths of its structure are nothing to the *expression* it wears in this favorable air. As it sits enthroned thus over the stream and farms whose green and silver wind up to its base, can it be the mountain which looks so desolate in the ride to the Glen, that is pathless and savage to the feet of the climber, that stands out so ugly in the forenoon light, which, lying stern upon it, makes its harsh crest look covered with soiled sole-leather? Now, as we gaze upon it, we see what it was really made for. . . . Its divine gala-dress is upon it. Its desolate rocks have ripened. Art has flowered out of the bitter geological stem. Its strata and truth, and all its endowments for use, are merely the rough touches of the brush, intended to be viewed,

not near the canvas, but a few miles distant, that they may be smoothed and shaded into unspeakable beauty. And the colors, too! What nettings of pale gold upon the sloping edges of its lesser peaks of azure, when the late afternoon light glances down its eastern side! Or, if a large mass of cloud has covered it in deep blue shade, and the sun, finding a small opening, pours through a widening cone of rays, how will the lower towers and domes of the mountain temple blaze out in splendid radiance, like gilded roofs with gemmy walls! . . . . .

"One spectacle which it was our fortune to witness from the Bridge repeats itself more frequently than any other before our eyes:—a sudden shower driving down the valley, completely hiding the mountain with gusts of rain,—the gradual thinning of the wet veil, till the outline of the beautiful pyramid of Madison is seen dim and lofty on its pedestal,—the soft blue sky of evening revealed again through the cloudy west behind it,—and when the rain entirely ceased, the rising of most delicate mists from the surface of the mountain, to be smitten by the sun, which breaks through a cloud-rift, so that they hang over the broad pile as a veil of silver gossamer, say rather, a texture of light itself,—light condensed into a gleaming web, almost too bright for a steady gaze! The mountain seemed transfigured. It was not so much swathed with splendor, as translucent. One might have thought he was looking through some rent in the curtain of matter, upon a celestial hill, sacred as Tabor once was, with 'garments white and glistening.'"—pp. 380—382.

To one who has passed so much of the vacation-time of his life among the hills, and been in his hours of recreation their docile and eager pupil, the mighty summits, of course, vouchsafe revelations not granted every day, or to transient callers. A peculiar and splendid "reward of merit" given by these mute but eloquent giant-teachers to their favorite scholar, is thus daguerreotyped:—

"The vapors hung in heavy masses over the principal ridges, but the west was clear. There was evident preparation for a magnificent display,—a great banquet by the sun to the courtier clouds, on retiring from office that day,—a high carnival of light. As I turned the horse towards Gorham, taking the Moriah range full in view, a slight shower began to fall down the valley of Mount Carter, and a patch of rainbow flashed across the bosom of the mountain. From point to point it wandered, uncertain where to 'locate,' but at last selected a central spot against the lowest summit, and concentrated its splendors.

"The background of the mountain was blue-black. Not a tree was visible, not an irregularity of the surface. It was one smooth mass of solid darkness, soft as it was deep. And the iris was not a bow, but a *pillar* of light. It rested on the ground; its top did not quite reach to the summit of the mountain. With what intense delight we looked at it, expecting every instant that its magic texture would dissolve! But it remained and glowed more brightly. I can give you no conception of the brilliancy and delicacy, the splendor and softness, of the vision. The rainbow on a cloud, in the most vivid display I ever saw of it, was pale to this blazing column of untwisted light. The red predominated. Its intensity increased till the mountain shadow behind it was black as midnight. And yet the pillar stood firm. 'Is not the mountain on fire?' said my companion. 'Certainly that is flame.' Five minutes, ten minutes, fifteen minutes, the gorgeous vision stayed, and we steadily rode nearer. Really we began to feel uneasy. We expected to see smoke. The color was so intense that there seemed to be real danger of the trees kindling under it. We could not keep in mind that it was celestial fire we were looking at,—fire cool as the water-drops out of which it was born, and on which it reclined. It lay apparently upon the trees, diffused itself among them, from the valley to the crown of the ridge, as gently as the glory in the bush upon Horeb, when 'the angel of the Lord appeared unto Moses in a flame of fire, out of the midst of a bush; and he looked, and behold the bush burned with fire, and the bush was not consumed.'

"It seemed like nothing less than a message to mortals from the internal sphere,—the robe of an angel, awful and gentle, come to bear a great truth to the dwellers in the valley."—pp. 271, 272.

The old proverb, "Nothing venture, nothing have," is true of the seeker for Nature's "best," as it is of the seeker for fame and wealth. Mr. King believes in the adage, and is indebted to his faith in it for prizes more precious to him than fine gold. The forbidding aspect of savage Mount Hayes, overlooking Gorham from the eastern bank of the Androscoggin, raised the suspicion that it held some treasure in its keeping, to be shown only to those persistent enough to face its desolate crest. So one day, when the heat was torrid, he started, with an artist friend, to scale the scarred eminence. The difficulties were more than they bargained for. But they persevered, wrestling for "nearly three hours of a sultry mid-day with the wilderness, in order to win the secret of its sum-

mit," — and with what success, let the historian of the hot, climbing, stumbling duet, performed with weary feet, sweating brows, and thirsty throats, tell.

"The great reward of the scramble was, that it gave me my *first view* of Mount Washington. I mean to say, that from no other point where I have had the fortune to stand does it rise before you from valley to crown in imperial estate. Perhaps you remember Punch's advice to the splendid Koh-i-noor jewel in the Crystal Palace, which did not flash as it should have done, among the other gems: 'If you are the great diamond of the world, why don't you behave *as such?*' Mount Washington is the sovereign dome of New England, but it is very difficult to make him behave 'as such.' In the Glen, Mount Adams looks higher and more proud. Seen from North Conway, he is not isolated from the rest of the range, and wears no grandeur about the summit. At Lancaster he looks humpbacked. In Shelburne he appears heavy and dowdy. From Bethlehem he shows grand height, but unsatisfactory form. The village of Jefferson, on the Cherry Mountain road, about thirteen miles from Gorham, furnishes the best position for studying his lines and height in connection with the rest of the range. But Mount Hayes is the chair set by the Creator at the proper distance and angle to appreciate and enjoy his kingly prominence.

"All the lower summits are hidden, and you have the great advantage of not looking along a chain, but of seeing the monarch himself soar alone, back of Madison and Adams and seemingly disconnected with them, standing just enough to the south to allow an unobstructed view of the ridges that climb from the Pinkham road up over Tucker-man's Ravine, to a crest moulded and poised with indescribable stateliness and grace. It completely dimmed the glory of Mount Adams. The eye clung ever fascinated and still hungry upon those noble proportions and that haughty peace. We were just far enough removed to get the poetic impression of height which vagueness and airy tenderness of color give. The day was perfect for such effects. If I had been told that the dome was ten or twelve thousand feet high, I should not have been disappointed. Arithmetic was out of the account. It was satisfactory, artistic mountain-eminence and majesty that we were gazing upon. Ah, what ripples of mystic light, waking colors uncertain, momentary, but ecstatic, would run in the warm noon over that serene pinnacle! And yet we knew that feet were climbing, tired and faint, up its jagged desolation, and savage gales, possibly, were howling over the rocks, as though art and joy have no right on this rough globe!

How delicately the shadows were tinted, to our eyes, in dimples of that crest, which were fissures scarred with land-slides and threatened by tottering crags! Was not the pleasure the more subtile to us because we knew that the splendor was illusion? And yet was not the seeming illusion nobler truth than the near and accurate reality? In the Creator's estimate of this globe, is it not probable that Mount Washington is a picture, rather than some thousands of cubic rods of rock?" — pp. 293, 294.

This bringing out the majesty of Mount Washington will go far to substantiate our remark, that the chapter in which it occurs, with that which immediately follows, should have been the climax of the volume. Did our limits permit, we might fortify this criticism by further proofs, — from the accounts of several ascents of the mountain-in-chief, the descriptions of the Glen, the narrative of the visit to Tuckerman's Ravine, where winter "lingered in the lap of July," to dine under the snow-arch, and especially from the vigorous, buoyant, and thrilling record of the first excursion "up the tilted floor of the granite gulf" of Mount Adams, — known to many, as it should be to all, by a name the author modestly withholds. But for these, its grandest pages, we must refer the reader to the book itself. If not one of those who, having "seen mountains only under a dull sky, or through very clear air, on a bright day, between the hours of nine and four, suppose that all descriptions of their splendor are either deliberately manufactured for the sake of fine writing, or illusions of fancy;" if not of that class "who bolt scenery, as a man driven by work bolts his dinner at a restaurant," and make a rush to look at Niagara, between two trains, for the sake of saying they have "been there;" if he be not, by reason of some defect in his make, or too exclusive concentration of thought upon his precious self, without susceptibility to the grand and lovely in nature, — and thus incapacitated from judging, — he will, on a careful and sympathetic examination, assent to all we have claimed in behalf of this volume as a treatment of the White Hills by a master's hand.

In speaking of the local importance of this volume, we have anticipated much of what we had to say of its æsthetic application to other scenery than that to which it is nominally

devoted, and of its general value. The truth is, a remarkable section of New Hampshire has served the author, half unconsciously perhaps on his part, as a text and treasury of illustration for essays on nature and disquisitions on landscape. In each of his descriptions the teaching reaches far beyond the subject immediately under his pen. Hence it were an error to imagine that the full character of the work is represented by its restricted title.

This is a point we are anxious to emphasize. We should be glad to inspire our readers with faith enough to remove "the White Hills" to their own homes, and to take them with them wherever they go. What the writer says of the mountains may be said with equal truth of all natural scenes. "Unless we find them something more than ministers to outward health, unless we find them quarries of a truth more substantial than geology, and treasuries of water more vital than their cascades pour, we see them only externally, and treat them too much as toys. The senses simply stare at nature. The intellect, by means of the senses, discerns regularity and law; artistic taste enjoys the bloom and beauty which possibly slip unnoticed from the eye of science; but it is the faculty of spiritual insight which penetrates to the inmost meaning, the message involved in the facts and processes of the material creation." To promote the culture thus indicated must be one of the effects of this book: and there is need, felt or unfelt, of its instructions. We say this in no fault-finding mood. Everything is going on well in the process of social development, whatever ugly and exceptional facts may at times obtrude themselves to produce temporary doubt and discouragement. The unexampled precocity of the land in material greatness is already budding and blossoming with refinement, and there is observable in many directions a gradual ascension from the sensuous to the spiritual, quickened by the growing belief that "the life is more than meat." Literature, poetry, art, and recreations garlanded by pure taste, are winning increased regard, as wealth purchases leisure, and the necessity for disbursing follows upon the success of accumulation. As it occasionally happens that the children of illiterate parents, who have somehow heaped up large fortunes, get a

costly education and all the accomplishments, — so the gold of a new country, easily gathered by the first generations, is spent sooner or later for intellectual and moral luxuries. It is in directing this expenditure, and, also in showing how rare delight may be enjoyed by multitudes, without money and without price, that a book like that under review is a timely minister of enduring benefit. Few can read it without having opened to them new sources of pleasure, and without discovering that daily life has truth and beauty hitherto overlooked. Should a coarse animal utilitarianism grin a sneering doubt at this statement, we advise it to put itself to shame at once by taking home the rebuke of its stolidity in this admirably pointed bit of irony.

“Let us remember that pure delight in natural scenes themselves is the crown of all artistic power or appreciation. And when a man loses enthusiasm, — when there is no surprise in the gush of evening pomp out of the west, — when the miracle of beauty has become commonplace, — when the world has become withered and soggy to his eye, so that, instead of finding his countenance ‘fresh as on creation’s day,’ he looks at each lovely object and scene, and, like the travelling Englishman, oppressed with *ennui*, finds ‘nothing in it,’ — it is about time for him to be transplanted to some other planet. Why not to the moon? No Winnipiseogee is there. There are mountains enough, but they show no azure and no gold. There are pits enough, but there is no water in them; no clouds hover over them; no air and moisture diffuses and varies the light. It is a planet of bare facts, without the frescos and garniture of beauty, a mere skeleton globe, and so perhaps is the Botany Bay for spirits that have become torpid and *blasé*.” — pp. 60, 61.

This extract is from one of the best passages in Mr. King’s book, — his noble vindication of enthusiasm, — wherein the glory and uses of the eye, and the cost of material in the arrangement of a landscape, are briefly set forth in sentences teeming with significance. Hints are here thrown out that are more or less expanded throughout the volume. We have, for example, an episode on the uses of mountains, — in the physical economy of the earth and to the moral and emotional sentiments, — which will impart new meaning to every hill; numerous sentences and paragraphs that can easily be col-

lected into instructive lectures on form and light and color ; condensed dissertations on the distinctive shapes, hues, and voices of the trees and their foliage ; illustrations of the law of focal distances ; delineations of the varying effects of vapor and cloud ; analyses of moonlight ;—in short, recognitions and representations more or less elaborate of all the elements and forces, all the harmonies, diversities, and contrasts, all the underground and surface and sky work, that enter into the composition of natural scenery, and furnish it with the mysterious power, according to pre-ordained laws of reciprocal action, to charm the sense and move the soul of man. We have all this, and we have it by the instrumentality of a rhetoric at first sight seemingly only fanciful and ornate, but found on closer and critical scrutiny to be largely composed of epithets that are symbols of facts and truths, metaphors that are condensed demonstrations, and figures of speech that are logical arguments, wreathed with the flowers of poetry. And when we add, that, without the first particle of stereotyped cant, and in harmony too with the natural play of occasional sparkles of wit and flashes of genial humor, a healthful religious spirit pervades the volume and fills the closing pages with lessons of fraternal charity toward man and profoundest reverence toward God, we have surely said enough to establish the position, that it is far more than a descriptive essay of the four valleys that run among the White Hills. We feel an assurance that we are not exaggerating the general value of this book, from the fact that the discovery of it, so to speak, was an agreeable surprise to ourselves. We were prepared for its local accuracy, but not for its comprehensive suggestiveness. And it is our conviction, that few can read it without having the education of the eye helped for the study of nature and art. It will teach them how to look with more intelligent discrimination upon landscape painting, and give them reliable tests to guide their judgments. It will make them more observant of the light that illumines, the clouds that shadow, and the trees that overarch their daily walks. It will reveal to them the still splendor of the night, the serene joy of the morning, and the resplendent glories that enfold the retiring day. It will teach them, in short, how

much there is in the heavens, on the earth, and by the sea-side, that is not dreamed of in that low, narrow, and false philosophy that makes life consist in the gratification of appetite and the exercise of the intellect, deems the mountains cumbrous obstacles to internal improvements, regards the rivers as railroad engineers, values the valleys solely for their growths of grain, and believes that the end of the whole material creation is to add to the accumulations of trade and commerce.

It was a mistake, we incline to think, growing out of frank impulses of the heart and prodigal generosity of friendship, to introduce into a volume of so much permanent value transient incidents, without meaning or interest to the majority of readers. To one of these references, however, we will not object, since the deserved admiration therein expressed for "the passionate and poetic genius of a 'gifted companion'" is prefaced by and made to illustrate a beautiful conceit of the imagination.

"Is it possible, do you think, that Nature is ever conscious of human observation, and that she can change at all, can blush into rarer loveliness, when an eye that has a passion for beauty studies her? I have sometimes fancied, standing on the sea-shore after a storm, with an enthusiastic party, that the waves caught the excitement of the company, as actors feel the applause of the audience, and that they redoubled their efforts in answer to our cheers. And often it has seemed to me that the mountains know when critical and appreciative visitors come to be refreshed and invigorated by their grandeur. They will rise in apparent height, or mottle themselves with a richer complexity of hues, or select a rarer vestment from their aerial wardrobe, or look more solemn than usual, or more sublime. If it is one of the great purposes of Nature to get transmuted into human thought and emotion, and to reappear in human character, why may we not conjecture that the presence of a gifted guest has occult power enough, sometimes, to charm the most reverent look out of a hill, and induce the light to pour its most cunning splendors on the air, — so that the glory of the Creator may pass into the feeling of genius?" — p. 296.

Now, if we assume the converse of this subtile and exquisitely worded fancy to be true, the mountains the coming summer will be of sad countenance, and wear shadows and mists

for mourning, in sympathy with troops of human friends, at the absence of one, the intense gaze of whose appreciative soul has drawn from them their grandest and loveliest expressions. But if the hills are as unselfish as he affirms, in personifications attributing to them conscious thought and emotion in their sufferings and services, they will soon put off the sombre aspect of private grief, and, moved by higher than personal considerations, rejoice at his going away, probably to get, and certainly to do, great good.

When this commendation of "The White Hills" reaches our readers, its author may be entering through the Golden Gate the harbor of San Francisco. Many of those readers, who "have him in their hearts" for his fervid and logical discourses on the highest themes, or for the joyous wit and wisdom of his spontaneous talk, will join in the hope, we cannot forbear expressing here, that the new scene of his labors may bid him welcome, enrobed in the richest and softest hues of a Pacific sunset; an omen to his native and educated instinct for beauty of a twice-blessed Christian ministry, — none the less Christian because there will mingle with its speech and work the influence of an enthusiastic passion for the natural world, as full of manifestations of the law, the wisdom, and the love of its Creator.

## ART. IV. — ARMINIUS AND ARMINIANISM.

1. JACOBI ARMINII, *Veteraquinatis, Batavi, SS. Theologiæ Doctoris Eximii, Opera Theologica*. Prostant Francofurti. Anno 1635. 1 vol. Small 4to.
2. *The Works of JAMES ARMINIUS, D. D., formerly Professor in the University of Leyden. Translated from the Latin. To which are added Brandt's Life of the Author, with considerable Augmentations; numerous Extracts from his Private Letters; a Copious and Authentic Account of the Synod of Dort and its Proceedings; and several interesting Notices of the Progress of his Theological Opinions in Great Britain and on the Continent.* By JAMES NICHOLS, Author of "Calvinism and Arminianism Compared in their Principles and Tendency." In three volumes. London. 1825.
3. *The Works of JAMES ARMINIUS, D. D., formerly Professor of Divinity in the University of Leyden. Translated from the Latin.* In three volumes. The First and Second by JAMES NICHOLS. The Third, with a Sketch of the Life of the Author, by REV. W. R. BAGNALL, A. M., of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Auburn and Buffalo: Derby, Miller, and Orton. 1853.
4. *The Creed of Arminius, with a Sketch of his Life and Times.* By PROF. MOSES STUART. Biblical Repository. April, 1831.
5. *Arminius.* By REV. W. F. WARREN, A. M. Methodist Quarterly Review. July, 1857.

THE first three works cited above have no such identity of character as a glance at their titles might suggest. The volume first named is one of the latest editions of Arminius printed in the Latin language. It contains, with unimportant exceptions, all his authentic writings, together with a sketch of his life in the funeral oration by Bertius. The English version, projected by Mr. Nichols, was completed only through two volumes, the third having for some reason failed to appear. It is accompanied by a huge mass of notes, — a *moles indigesta*, presenting a formidable and discouraging aspect to the general reader, but furnishing much valuable information to the student of the religious history of those times. The American publication is the only complete edition of the works of Arminius in the English language. Nichols's translation of the first two volumes is

carefully revised, and the third faithfully and judiciously translated by Mr. Bagnall, whose ripe scholarship admirably fits him for the task. The cumbrous notes and clumsy appendices of the English edition are omitted, and the whole is preceded by a brief but very graceful sketch of the life of Arminius. The whole work is creditable to both editor and publisher, and is a valuable addition to our theological literature.

Jacobus Arminius (James Hermann or Von Harmine in the unscholarly Dutch vernacular) was born in the village of Oudewater, near Utrecht, Holland, in 1560. It was the very year in which Melancthon died. In this same year, too, was held the Conference of Poissy, where the more than two thousand Protestant churches of France pleaded for religious freedom before the king and princes of the realm, in a plea rendered unsuccessful only by the shrewd but reprehensible artifice of the Cardinal of Lorraine. Luther had fallen asleep fourteen years before; Calvin, worn out with his extraordinary labors, had still four years to remain; and Farel, though for some time superannuated, lived yet five years. Some five years previously, Latimer and Ridley had passed through the fires of martyrdom kindled by the "Bloody Mary," and Mary herself had more recently followed her numerous victims. The Reformation had now thoroughly permeated the English masses, though the government of the stately Elizabeth had scarcely any Protestant characteristic save that of the independent supremacy. It was industriously seeking to strangle Puritanism, which had lately appeared, and, though yet in its swaddling-clothes, was proving itself a lusty and troublesome youngster. The great Protestant idea had taken possession of many of the German States, of Switzerland, of Scandinavia, and of Holland, the country of Arminius.

The parents of Arminius were respectable people of the middle rank in society. His father died while the son was yet an infant, and his mother was left in straitened circumstances. He was adopted by Theodore Emilius, a learned, benevolent, and pious priest, who had suffered much in the cause of the Reformation, and had lived many years in exile.

He had the lad thoroughly instructed in the ancient languages, and was careful to imbue his mind with the principles of virtue and religion. Doubtless through the influence of their excellent friend, who early discovered in him indications of uncommon genius, he was led to devote himself to the work of the ministry. To this high purpose he consecrated all his powers, and with an earnest, reverent, yet cheerful spirit, applied himself to the requisite preparation for the solemn office.

In his fifteenth year he was sufficiently advanced in his studies to enter the University. Just at this time his pious patron died, and all his prospects seemed blighted. Scarcely, however, had he time to give way to despondency before a new friend appeared in the person of Rudolphus Snellius, a mathematician of some note, and at that time Professor in the University of Marburg. He, too, had been for many years an exile, because of his efforts in the revolt from Popery. He was a native of the same village with Arminius, and being at Utrecht, and hearing the story of the young man, he became deeply interested in him. Finding him to be a youth of unusual promise, he took him to Marburg and placed him in the University. Scarcely was he settled in his new position, when he received intelligence that the Spaniards had attacked Oude-water, burned the village, and slain whoever came in their way, not even sparing the women and children. Full of alarm, he hastened to his native town, only to find his fears too well grounded. His mother, sister, and brother, with all his near relatives, had perished. On foot, and with a desolate heart, he returned to Hesse, and again entered upon his studies. Not long after, hearing that the new University at Leyden was open for the reception of students, he repaired thither. He soon greatly distinguished himself here, as well by his rapid progress in scientific pursuits, as by his excellent spirit and earnest piety.

After remaining six years a student at Leyden, he was recommended by the Burgomaster of Amsterdam to the guild of merchants in that city, as a youth of extraordinary abilities, promising great usefulness to the Church. The corporation determined to assume the expense of further educating him at

some foreign University ; he, at the same time, binding himself to the service of the Church in Amsterdam during his life. At that time Geneva was the great resort of the Protestant students in divinity throughout Western Europe. Thither repaired Arminius, just when Beza was at the zenith of his fame, and advocating the doctrine of absolute predestination with greater rigor than even Calvin himself had done. Arminius attended the lectures of this celebrated Professor, and warmly attached himself to him.

At Geneva he began to manifest that spirit of free inquiry, and that disposition to step from the line of established precedents when convinced that they were wrong, which became a prominent feature of his character. He had some time before become dissatisfied with Aristotle's philosophy, and having read the writings of Peter Ramus, he at once adopted his system of dialectics. Ramus was one of the earliest revolters from the Peripatetic philosophy which had so long held sway over the European intellect, and for his independence he had suffered not a little persecution. Still his extraordinary abilities gained for him the support of many eminent men, and, in spite of his philosophical heresies, he was made Royal Professor of Philosophy and Eloquence in the University of Paris. A passage in his subsequent life indicates the temper of the times. After he had secured peace with his Aristotelian foes, another great war arose against him, because he taught that in pronouncing *quisquis* the *qu* should be sounded, instead of pronouncing it *kiskis*, as formerly. Such a daring innovation was deemed a crime scarcely less than his revolt from the Stagirite, and so fierce was the controversy that the courts of justice were obliged to interfere. With extraordinary consideration, they decided that every one might pronounce Latin as he saw fit ! Ramus afterwards abandoned the Roman Church, and was expelled from his professorship. He perished in the massacre of St. Bartholomew ; his disembowelled and mutilated corpse was drawn about the streets by his Aristotelian adversaries, and thrown into the Seine.

Arminius had adopted his philosophical system. The views of Aristotle were regarded at Geneva, as elsewhere in Europe, as the summit of perfection. When, therefore, our young

Dutch theologian began, first in private, and afterwards publicly at the urgent solicitations of friends, to give lessons on the logic of Ramus, he greatly provoked the Professor of Philosophy, and gave offence to some of the directors of the University. On this account he left Geneva, and repaired to Basle. It is at this point that Bayle, whose philosophical deism was but the logical sequence of his early Calvinism, to both of which he finds Arminianism equally antagonistic, animadverted on what he calls "the fondness of Arminius for new things." This was probably nothing more than the disposition before spoken of, to ascertain truth for himself, and to adopt no man's opinions on religious or philosophical subjects as a finality. Beza is reported to have warned the young man "against approving new thoughts, without having thoroughly investigated them." "It is a thing," said he, "which Satan often makes use of, in order to mislead distinguished men." This, too, is quoted as an opinion of Calvin. Professor Stuart calls this sound and judicious advice; and thinks that, "had Arminius taken it, he would have never been the head of a party which is called by his name, and he would have avoided many a scandal and sorrow, and much disturbance to the Church of God." All this is excellent, and all perhaps literally true. Yet *Nomine mutato de te fabula narratur*. How would this same advice apply to Calvin and Beza, and the disturbances in their day? Even the amiable and excellent Andover Professor has had some such sins imputed to him, and to those who, both before and since his death, were his coadjutors in an enterprise aiming at the occupation of new theological ground. Singularly enough, too, the opponents of the advance movement contemptuously style it the *New Arminianism*!

At Basle, Arminius acquired great honor, and much deference was paid to his abilities and his integrity. Within a year, however, the feeling of intolerance at Geneva having subsided, it became desirable for him to return. On the eve of his departure from Basle, the Faculty of Theology proposed to confer upon him, at the public expense, the title of Doctor in Divinity. This, with characteristic modesty, he begged leave to decline, alleging as a reason, that "to bestow a Doctor's degree

on a person so youthful in appearance as he, would tend to diminish the dignity and respect which should always attach to that sacred title." This reason would hardly hold good at the present day.

After pursuing his studies for some time longer at Geneva, he took a journey through Italy. This journey, though it proved advantageous to him, not only in the way of that culture which comes from travel, and by intercourse with learned men at the schools which he visited, but also from a personal observation of the abuses and abominations of the Papacy, was yet the source of trouble to him on account of the dissatisfaction excited among his patrons by some evil-disposed persons, who misrepresented his motives, and gave a slanderous report of his conduct during his tour. Happily, however, these calumnies were readily refuted, and after a few months more at Geneva, he went thence with the highest testimonials as to his character and accomplishments from the Faculty of the University, and especially from Beza. The latter, in a letter to the magistrates of Amsterdam, speaks of him as "possessing a mind most admirably prepared to fulfil his duty, if it should please the Lord God to accept of the use of the young man's ministry for his own work in the Church."

After a brief probationary exercise of his gifts he was formally and unanimously accepted by the Amsterdam Classis, and installed as a pastor in one of the churches of that city. He began his public ministry in 1588, in his twenty-ninth year. He at once became very popular as a preacher. His voice was agreeable, and his manner attractive, while his discourses were ardent and effective.

It was during the second year of his ministry that Arminius was led to re-examine some of the doctrines to which he had all along assented. Coornhert, a man of great piety and much ability, who had rendered important services to the Reformation and to his country, at the peril of life and the sacrifice of many temporal interests, had in 1578 attacked the peculiar views of Calvin on Predestination, Justification, and the punishment of heretics. In a discussion with the two Calvinistic ministers of Delft, he assailed these dogmas in a bold and powerful manner, and afterwards published his views in a pam-

phlet. The Delft ministers replied ; but instead of urging the theory of Calvin and Beza, they abandoned it, and argued against Coornhert on *sublapsarian* grounds. This reply coming to Martin Lydius, Professor at Franeker, he greatly disapproved its sentiments ; but, not venturing to answer it himself, sent it to Arminius, with a request that he would refute it. At the same time Arminius was solicited by the Ecclesiastical Senate of Amsterdam to answer the pamphlet of Coornhert. To the double office thus consigned him he was nowise averse. He had himself adopted the extreme supralapsarian view of Beza, that "the eternal decree of God in predestination was positively and absolutely to elect to eternal salvation certain persons, and to reprobate others he *had not then decreed to create.*" The opinion of the Delft ministers was, that "*after God had made a decree for the creation of mankind, and had foreseen the fall of Adam, he positively and absolutely determined to elect to eternal salvation certain persons, without any antecedent reference to Jesus Christ.*" Coornhert believed that "the decree of God in respect to predestination was, out of *men already created and fallen*, to elect those who would answer by the true obedience of faith to the call of God."

Arminius zealously entered upon the work of defending the doctrines of his old friend and master. But when he accurately weighed the arguments in favor respectively of the first two views presented above, he found himself irresistibly inclining towards that of the Delft brethren. Further investigation, pursued with a determination to find, if possible, a satisfactory solution of this problem on a Scriptural basis, led him in turn to abandon the doctrine of the Delft ministers, and to embrace substantially that put forth by Coornhert !

It may be proper at this point briefly to sketch the history of the doctrine of Predestination up to the time of which we are speaking, in order to a better understanding of the position of both Arminius and his opponents. During the first three or four centuries, we find nothing in the Greek or Latin fathers respecting *irresistible grace*, or *predestination* in the sense in which this term has been latterly used. They did not undertake to settle their doctrines of Free-will and Divine Agency

on a philosophical basis. They preached the common-sense view of the importance of practical holiness, and exhibited the motives which appeared to them calculated to secure it, never for a moment doubting that whatever is wrong is ultimately to be referred to man, and that the economy of grace proceeding from God is the most convincing proof of the tenderness of his compassion for mankind. Augustine appears to have been very much of the opinion of Origen and the earlier fathers on this point, previous to his controversy with Pelagius. But the position which he then took respecting the moral condition of man logically necessitated some new view of man's relation to God. At this view he arrived in his old age by attributing both sin and salvation to the purposes of God. His earlier and later statements are inconsistent, and we find him quoted by subsequent controversialists on both sides. The doctrine was certainly not regarded as essential to orthodoxy, but as a matter of metaphysical speculation.

About four hundred years after Augustine, Gottschalk, a monk who had devoted himself to the study of metaphysical theology with unwearied diligence, and who was inflamed with a desire to solve all the mysteries with which that science abounds, convinced himself of the truth of the doctrine of eternal predestination, not merely in the mild form proposed by Augustine, but in its most repulsive and horrible aspect. He openly and zealously inculcated the opinion, that God had from eternity predestinated a few to eternal life, and the remainder to eternal damnation. Gottschalk's views met with little favor, and the less because of the personal enmity of his Archbishop. He was terribly persecuted and cruelly tortured, till he made a forced recantation, and burned the writings in which he had set forth his obnoxious notions. The question continued to be discussed by the different sects of the Schoolmen till the time of the Reformation, but without either side incurring the charge of heresy, or making the doctrine a test of orthodoxy.

The German Reformers allowed this problem to occupy the same position it had previously held in the Roman Church. Luther, it is true, had in the early part of his career insisted upon the Augustinian theory, as became an Augustine monk.

So had Melancthon ; but neither of them urged it as essential to Evangelical Christianity. The latter very soon abandoned it as untenable ; and though Luther never explicitly avowed his change of opinion, he at least tacitly sanctioned the course pursued by his coadjutor. Both were anxious to inculcate practical sentiments, and they exhorted their followers to avoid questions beyond their comprehension.

Calvin's mind was differently constituted. He was unwilling to leave any doctrine respecting man's relations to God open to speculation. His own conversion was a violent rebound from Romanism, and he found in the *horribile decretum* not only what satisfied his own positive character, but what placed him in the most thorough antagonism to the Papacy. The absolute Divine sovereignty, and the utter incompetency of the human will, so far as merit is concerned, together with the aforesaid *decretum*, in virtue of which God elected and reprobated without any regard to conditions or character, presented prominent features of opposition to the Papal supremacy, to the whole system of supererogatory works, and all penances and pilgrimages by which men secure salvation for themselves or others. In this relation of Calvinism to the Romish Church we find one great element of its success. In addition to this is the fact that the adherents of the Papacy were everywhere the friends of absolute government, while Calvinism naturally tended to a republican theocracy. The positive character of the Calvinistic system is also to be taken into the account. Men do not like to pin their faith on negatives. They prefer something actual and affirmative, though it involve considerable absurdities. The ability of Calvin and those he gathered about him at Geneva made the school very famous. It was the only really great Protestant University in Western Europe. To it resorted most of the candidates for the ministry from that portion of the continent, so that the views of Calvin and Beza were easily propagated among the Reformed churches.

For a time men might find refuge in such a system from the superstitions and abominations of the Papacy ; but a theory so unnatural and repulsive could not always hold sway undisturbed. It was not strange that opposition should be encoun-

tered in Holland, where at that time the intellectual activity of the people was probably greater than at any other in their history. Holland also had received the reformation from Germany, and the writings of Erasmus and Melancthon, in neither of whom was there any sympathy with the new dogmas, had been largely circulated. Nor was it singular that a bold reasoner and independent thinker like Arminius, when he ceased to regard Calvinism as in contrast with Romanism, and began to compare it with Scripture and reason, should revolt from its teachings.

Of course he abandoned the task of refuting doctrines of whose truth he had become convinced. He applied himself to a still deeper study of these subjects, diligently reading the Scriptures, and comparing with them the writings of the fathers and of the later divines. Confirmed in the view which had before presented itself to his mind, he yet abstained from any public attack on the received opinions, and, for the sake of peace, reserved the conclusions at which he had arrived. But after a few months he was convinced that he ought to declare his dissent from some prevailing errors; and in his interpretation of Scripture he advanced sentiments which were in accordance with his enlarged notions of God's economy in the salvation of men. This became his settled practice in 1590. It provoked some, though not serious, opposition. The next year he alarmed some of the ministers still more by his lectures on the seventh of Romans, in which he explained the last part of the chapter as describing a sinner under legal conviction; "in the same manner," says Stuart, "as Martin Bucer had before explained it, and all the fathers of the Church before the days of Augustine; and in like manner as nearly all commentators, whether evangelical or neological, have of late done." This raised against him the cry of "Pelagianism." The accusation was the more plausible from the fact that Faustus Socinus, under the name of *Prosper Dysidæus*, had recently published an exposition of the same chapter, and had advanced similar sentiments. The Ecclesiastical Senate of Amsterdam, being informed of these charges, summoned Arminius before them. The points in controversy were discussed by him and a minister named Plancius. He corrected many

false reports concerning his teachings, and replied with much spirit to the imputation of Pelagianism, declaring that he utterly rejected the errors peculiar to that system. He defended his own opinions by referring to Bucer, Erasmus, and the early teachers of the Church, and proved that he had taught nothing inconsistent with the Confession and the Catechism. He added, that he by no means considered himself bound to adopt all the private interpretations of the Reformed churches, and claimed the liberty and the power to expound the lively oracles, and any passage in them, according to the dictates of his own conscience. His defence appears to have been satisfactory to the Council, though private individuals still gave him some disquietude.

This was augmented when, in 1593, he expounded, in a series of sermons, the ninth of Romans. Instead of following the method of Calvin and Beza, who chiefly base on this chapter the doctrine of absolute predestination, he asserted that the Apostle adhered to the same design here as in the previous chapters, which was to vindicate the doctrine of *justification by faith* from the several objections raised by the Jews. These sermons elicited much and bitter animadversion among the more rigid predestinarians, and this was by no means diminished when they found that the preacher was rising in favor with the Lutherans and other anti-Calvinistic sects. Violent discussions ensued; the cry of heresy rang out more fiercely than ever; again the Ecclesiastical Senate took cognizance of the matter, and Arminius promptly appeared before them. The Moderator intimated that complaints had been made concerning his recent sermons, and in the name of the presbytery besought him to avoid dissension, and to preach the same doctrine as his colleagues. Arminius disclaimed all design of dissension, and all charges of heresy, challenging investigation, and declaring himself ready instantly to meet it. He adroitly but legitimately replied to the admonition of the presbytery, that it was uncalled for as respected him; and, in virtue of the same right which his brethren exercised towards him, he advised and besought them not to declare anything which was at variance with the Scriptures or the received forms of consent, — “that it was as much their care to live in amity with him, as for him

to be on similar terms with them, while both sides should labor to preserve concord in those things to the truth of which all had subscribed." He did not claim to entertain, nor to teach, views which were in harmony with those of many of his brethren; but he argued that those points wherein they differed were such as no confessions of faith had settled, and in respect to which diverse sentiments had been tolerated for many centuries. Yet he stated that, if it were incumbent on every teacher of the Reformed churches to adhere strictly and precisely to the terms of the Confession, and if, when in quoting Scripture any one departed a hair's breadth from those terms, it was instantly construed into an enormous offence, it would not be a matter of difficulty to convict the greater part of his fellow-laborers of the same crime. At the close of this speech, no one urging anything further, Arminius was acquitted. The Moderator congratulated him, and the assembly dissolved.

His opponents, though defeated, were not silenced. Other rumors, affecting his theological reputation, were industriously propagated. Once, when he was absent from the presbytery, a resolution was passed requiring him "to declare, without any obscurity or wary circumlocution, his sentiments on all the articles of faith;" and if he betrayed any reluctance to do this, "that certain theses and anti-theses should be prepared, on the subjects of which a conference should be held with him." He did not hear of this till about twelve days subsequently. A few weeks later he was present in the presbytery, and was reminded of this vote by one of the members. He rose in his place, and in an animated tone challenged all to come forward who might wish to communicate any particular in his sermons which they deemed worthy of reprehension. No one answered the challenge; but one member complained that his sermons on the ninth of Romans had been applauded by the Lutherans and Anabaptists, and others of doubtful orthodoxy, and thought it might be rationally inferred from this that he taught doctrines at variance with those of the Reformed churches. Arminius denied the sequence, and insisted that it was very surprising, when so many persons of discordant views united in applauding the sermons, that none of his brethren

in the presbytery were able to *point out* any unscriptural opinion, if any such existed. One of his opponents then stated, that though he had not made positive declarations of censurable doctrine, yet he had expressed himself ambiguously and equivocally. This also he denied, and demanded the instances, in order that he might correct himself. No proof was offered. Seeing that some were still unappeased, he still two or three times urgently invited and demanded of them to openly divulge whatever objection they had to his teachings.

At this point inquiry began to be made for Plancius, who was his most resolute opponent, and who happened to be conveniently absent. He was hastily summoned to the Council, and was there reminded that, as in the absence of Arminius he had occasionally stated objections to his doctrines, he ought now to state them in his presence. Plancius hesitated to stand forth in the invidious character of an *adversary*; but as he could not honorably evade the responsibility, he presented some statements of Arminius which he thought did not accord with the sentiments of the Reformed Church. These did not touch the doctrine of predestination, but were opinions concerning *original sin*, the *merit of good works*, and the *immortality of angels*. Arminius corrected the misapprehensions of these statements, and explained his views as being in harmony with the Confession and the Catechism. He added, that he had never been conscious of teaching anything contrary to the standards of faith in the Reformed churches, and that he received such doctrine and article in those writings in the very sense in which they are expounded by nearly all the Reformed pastors. The presbytery again promptly acquitted him of all charges of error, and he was no more annoyed in this way during his ministry in Amsterdam.

It will be observed in the foregoing narrative, that the opponents of Arminius always charged him with Pelagianism, not with opposition to the doctrine of Predestination. This explains their vacillation and his boldness. They were not yet prepared to insist upon the new dogma as a test of orthodoxy, and had every reason to fear that, if the matter should be exposed to public discussion, they would be overwhelmingly defeated. Though really opposing him on account of his views

on predestination, they were anxious to convict him of heresy on other grounds.

There now ensued to Arminius ten years of comparative quiet, during which he lived in great amity with his colleagues, and was held in the highest estimation by the people of his charge. He had married in 1590, about two years after his settlement, a lady of great amiability, refinement, and piety. She was the daughter of one of the senators of Amsterdam, and appears to have been excellently qualified to be the wife of such a man. They had nine children, all of whom survived their father, though most of them died in early youth. But domestic enjoyments did not deter him in his eager search after Truth, whom he was "prepared to embrace with both hands, by whomsoever she might be shown." In 1597 he formed an intimacy with Francis Junius, Professor of Divinity at Leyden, and opened a correspondence with him on the subject of predestination. Junius was a moderate predestinarian, and endeavored to remove the difficulties of Arminius by proposing a somewhat more palatable theory than the one commonly advanced. The examination of his theory by Arminius was never answered, though Junius lived six years after its reception.

In 1598 he wrote his *Examen Modestum Libelli Perkinsii*. The work here reviewed was a treatise on Predestination by William Perkins, a Professor in the University of Cambridge, England, who had taken high ground in favor of the *decretum absolutum*. The reply is an able one, and is published among the works of the author. During the two subsequent years he was engaged in various literary and theological labors, in addition to his ministerial and pastoral duties. Among these was the commencement of a "Synopsis of Commonplaces in Divinity," which, however, he never completed. About this time also he and Uytenbogardt moved the States of Holland in favor of a new translation of the Scriptures, by that profound Hebrew and Greek scholar, Drusius. In this they failed, evidently through the jealousy of some of the ministers, lest such a translation might advance the interests of the anti-Calvinistic party.

In 1602 the plague made terrible ravages in Holland, and especially in Amsterdam. In this public calamity Arminius

showed himself a faithful pastor, ready to minister, even at his own peril, to the suffering and dying victims. This pestilence proved fatal to both Francis Junius and Luke Trelcatius, Professor of Divinity in the University of Leyden. In filling these vacant chairs public attention was almost immediately directed to Arminius, and he was forthwith invited to succeed Junius. The people of his charge and the inhabitants of Amsterdam generally protested against his removal. The Senate also interposed its authority, — a formidable obstacle, when we recollect that he had placed his services at the disposal of this body for life. Every effort, however, was made to secure him for the place, and persons of great influence in the nation and in the Church urged upon the city magistrates the importance of the matter. Among these were Cromhoutius, Supreme Judge, and Prince Maurice, the Stadtholder. He was finally released from his engagement at Amsterdam, and proceeded to Leyden. The appointment provoked much opposition from the ultra Calvinistic ministers, who feared the consequences of elevating to such a position a man whom they regarded as heterodox in respect of vital doctrines of religion. Francis Gomarus, at that time the only remaining Professor at Leyden, was one of these opposers, though he professed to be nearly reconciled about the time of the election.

Arminius received the degree of Doctor of Divinity in July, 1603, and on that occasion delivered an eloquent oration on "The Priesthood of Christ," which is still extant. After his entrance on the duties of his professorship, he discovered that the theological students were much given to metaphysical speculation and the discussion of complicated scholastic questions of no practical importance, to the neglect of the Scriptures. This evil he endeavored to remedy, and had to some extent the co-operation, though not always cordial, of his colleagues. "He recalled," says Bertius, "that ancient masculine and hardy method of study; and, as far as possible, he withdrew those erratic candidates for holy orders from their wanderings, and brought them back to the fountains of salvation, — those pure fountains whose pellucid streams refuse to flow in muddy channels." It has sometimes been made a

pretext for attack on Arminius, that he was afraid of metaphysical studies, having no genius for them, nor any culture in that direction. That this is a mistake Professor Stuart amply testifies, and any person may ascertain for himself who will take the trouble to become acquainted with the true philosophical reputation of Arminius, and the character of his writings. He undoubtedly saw that some of the Calvinistic doctrines depended more on metaphysical ratiocination than on the word of God, and he was not willing that an undue relative prominence should be given to the former.

He also exerted himself at this period very strenuously in the cause of Christian unity. He advocated the largest toleration compatible with the integrity of the Christian faith. Errors both in doctrine and practice there might be, and these might be pertinaciously adhered to; but he thought there was a remedy; "not in swords, halters, racks, and gibbets, nor yet in burning people alive, — but in entreaties, gentle and friendly instructions, and in the example of a holy conversation." He was always strenuously opposed to persecution for opinion's sake. Indeed, his notions of religious toleration placed him at a still wider remove from the high Calvinistic party, and were a distinguishing feature of his relation to them. That this party through a great portion of its history has given painful evidence of an intolerant spirit, we need not stop to argue. How much soever the world may owe it for efforts in behalf of political liberty, its religious liberty was simply "freedom to worship God" *Calvinistically*. These two projects of Arminius — the recalling of the divinity students to the simplicity of the Gospel in their studies, and the effort to promote unity and harmony among the several denominations and parties in the Church — occasioned the jealous suspicion that, in addition to his many doctrinal heresies, he was attempting to introduce ecclesiastical innovations.

His colleague, Gomarus, whose hostility from the first had been scarcely disguised, exhibited a growing envy. This was enhanced by the course Arminius saw fit to pursue in his theological lectures. It became his lot, in the division of labor among the Professors, to discuss the doctrine of *Predestination*. His views on this subject had been known to the Curators of

the University, and to the public generally, before his election. There being no reason why he should conceal his sentiments, he freely maintained that "Divine predestination is a decree of the *good pleasure* of God in Christ, by which he determined within himself from eternity to justify believers on whom he decreed to bestow faith, to adopt them, and to endow them with eternal life to the praise of his glorious grace. Reprobation is a decree of the wrath or of the *severe will* of God, by which from eternity he determined, for the declaration of his wrath and power, to condemn to eternal death unbelievers who, by their *own* fault and by the righteous judgment of God, will not believe, as men who are placed beyond a union with Christ." In discussing these tenets, though so different from those promulgated at Geneva, he did not deem them novelties, nor present them as new discoveries. He also abstained from animadverting on those who held opposite doctrines, and was careful to detract nothing from the great reputation of Calvin and Beza.

Not long after, he also subjected to public examination his theses on "The Church," and on "The Sin of our First Parents." In discussing the latter subject, he took occasion, in the presence of Gomarus and Trelcatius, to refute the necessity of the first sin, and to establish its contingency. This disputation he conducted with his usual moderation, requesting of the audience "that they would themselves diligently examine the argument he had propounded," and added his customary declaration, that he was "prepared to yield to those who would teach him greater verities."

This discussion occasioned a great storm of opposition. His colleagues had not attacked nor criticised his opinions at the time they were uttered, as it was their privilege to do if they dissented from his views. He knew Gomarus had publicly pledged himself "to examine and discuss *every* opinion about predestination, and to add his own and confirm it by proofs." This Arminius expected; and he averred that, "if that very celebrated man can produce such arguments as will not admit of an answer, I will be one of the first to subscribe to his sentiments, and to recant my own." But Gomarus was impatient for the fray. He could not wait for the proper time.

In opposition to the regular course, and out of his turn, he ordered to be exhibited certain propositions of his own upon the very topic which, according to the invariable practice of the University, Arminius had begun to discuss in the course exclusively assigned to himself. Gomarus prefaced his discussion with a speech of much bitterness, making an almost direct personal attack on Arminius: The tenor of the propositions defended by him was, "that the object of predestination was creatures rational, salvable, damnable, creable, lapsible, and restorable; that, moreover, out of these indefinitely foreknown, God had, as an almighty ruler, on one part foreordained, according to his own right and good pleasure, some particular creatures to his own supernatural ends; . . . . and, on the other part, that he had destined others, who were from all eternity rejected from eternal life, to death and endless ignominy; and that he had done this for the purpose of making known his most free ability, wrath, and power towards the reprobate, and his saving grace towards the elect." Arminius was present at the disputation; but, though feeling injured at the manner in which he had been treated, he took no notice of the enmity which was so evident. In a letter to his friend Uytenbogart, written the next day, he manifests a most gentle and forbearing spirit. "I know," says he, "and my conscience is my witness, that I have neither said or done anything by which I could give Gomarus just cause of offence. I shall also be easily reconciled to him, though his conduct was most annoying. It is unlawful for me to hate any one, or to retain anger, how just soever it may be, against any person. I am taught this doctrine by the word, the spirit, and the example of God, who is described to us in the Scriptures. I wish he would teach me not to be grieved on account of anything, unless for that which may deservedly be attributed to me as a real fault. Let this compass me as a wall of brass; *I have no personal consciousness of being culpable.*"

That he might not seem to desert the vindication of the truth, nor to be distrustful of his own cause, he soon afterwards prepared, for the sake of his divinity students, an "Examination of the Theses proposed by Gomarus for Disputation." From this time the contest went on with greater violence than

ever, not now confining itself to the halls of the University, but spreading through the churches and producing great agitation. The odium of this excitement fell principally on Arminius, as having introduced novel doctrines, and as attempting to change the faith of the Reformed. It was a dispute not to be terminated with the lives of the principal contestants, but to go on for we know not how many generations.

In the beginning of the year 1605 Arminius was elected to the office of *Rector Magnificus* in the University. It was a token of the high esteem in which the Curators of the University held him, and was the means of augmenting his dignity and influence. But it was also an occasion of fresh envy. It certainly did not diminish the animosity of certain persons, who continued clandestinely to operate against him. He was accused of various heresies, on no stronger grounds than that he had sometimes adduced in his controversies the same arguments as those made use of on similar occasions by others than Calvinists. At one time it was pretty extensively rumored that he was a Papist, and was in league with Papal emissaries to recover his countrymen to the religion of Rome. At first he paid little attention to these reports. He considered that no other effect was produced by these attempts, and the preposterous diligence with which they were made, "than that he, an insignificant individual, (who could not possibly attain to celebrity by his own virtues, and concerning whom scarcely a person out of Holland would otherwise deign either to know or to say anything,) was thus rendered every day famous and noble." But as these rumors became more frequent and annoying, he held a public disputation on "The Roman Pontiff," in which he defended the position "that he was an adulterer, and the pander of the Church; a false prophet, and the tail of the dragon; the adversary of God and of Christ; the Antichrist; the evil servant who beats his fellow-servants; one who is unworthy the title of Bishop; and the destroyer and spoiler of the Church." It would seem that these terms were quite as bitter and denunciatory as necessary; still they did not satisfy his accusers. He afterwards produced still more violent philippics. These, it is true, were not more severe nor extravagant than the customs of the times permitted; they were,

perhaps, scarcely equal to the style of Luther and of Calvin ; but they were foreign to the ordinary temper of Arminius, and were evidently occasioned by the pressure of calumny. Sometimes "oppression makes a wise man mad."

Notwithstanding all these detractions, which affected his reputation abroad, his popularity in Leyden greatly increased. An immense number of students were attracted to his lectures by the gracefulness of his manner, and by his perspicuous interpretation of Scripture. His public discourses, characterized as they were by a practical tone, and free from those scholastic features which necessarily pertained to theological discussions, gave him great celebrity, and drew multitudes to hear him. This popularity, as Professor Stuart surmises, vehemently excited the malevolence of Gomarus, who became more virulent than ever.

Early in the year 1606, according to annual custom, he resigned his office of Rector of the University, and on that occasion delivered an oration "On Religious Dissension, its Nature and its Effects." This is one of the most readable of his productions. It is written in good style, and characterized by an excellent spirit. The sentiments in advocacy of religious toleration are noteworthy as being far in advance of his age,—in fact, they are scarcely inferior to any on that subject advanced within the present century. His plan of a General Synod for the adjustment of religious differences has been frequently referred to by his followers as presenting a happy contrast with the actual proceedings of the Synod of Dort. It is the more noticeable from the fact, that, as his opponents admit, had an assembly been called at this time, the sentiments of Arminius would have been likely to prevail.

During the next year he was invited to a conference with Hippolitus a Collibus, Ambassador to the United Provinces from the Elector Palatine. Attempts had been made to prejudice this statesman against Arminius ; but, with a candor which does not always characterize public men, he determined not to pronounce against a man before hearing from his own mouth what his sentiments were. At this interview the Leyden Professor openly explained to the Ambassador his views on the disputed topics. This explanation was so satisfactory to

Collibus, that he desired it committed to writing, which was accordingly done, and it is still extant among our author's works.

In 1608 Arminius was summoned by the States of Holland and Friesland to appear at the Hague, to enter into a conference with Gomarus, in the presence of four other ministers. The design was to devise some method of settling the dissensions between the parties. They met, but Gomarus appears to have desired to avoid the conference. This, however, was not permitted. After considerable extemporaneous discussion, they were directed to present their views in writing. This, too, was very unpalatable to Gomarus, who wished to stand only in the position of a critic of Arminius. But the magistrates persisted, and the statements were presented, with the animadversions and strictures of each on the sentiments of his opponent. The members of the Supreme Court perused the writings, and at once pronounced their opinion, that the controversy did not at all concern the chief points of the Christian religion. They required both to cease contention, and to teach nothing contrary to the Creed and Catechism. Arminius, with his usual tolerance, avowed his opinion that the errors of Gomarus and his friends were only those of the judgment, and not such as necessarily to endanger salvation. But his opponent declared that the sentiments of Arminius were such "as would make him unwilling to appear before God, his judge, if he himself entertained any that resembled them."

Who ever knew a decree of the civil power to put a stop to religious agitation? It certainly did not in this case. The disputants did not cease to defend themselves, nor to attack one another. About this time there were printed and circulated thirty-one articles of an heretical character, or supposed to be such, the sentiments of which were ascribed to Arminius. Some of these were utterly at variance with his teachings; others contained his views ingeniously modified; and others still were caricatures of his expressed opinions. To these he replied in writing, and the "Apology" forms one of the most interesting portions of his works. His criticism of many of the propositions is exceedingly keen; he boldly announces his views, and boldly defends them.

\* It was in October of the same year that he was summoned by the States-General to appear before them, and give an account of his religious sentiments. This summons he promptly complied with, and presented that extraordinary address and compendium of his theological views which is embraced in his works under the title of *Declaratio Sententiæ*. It was delivered before the States in Dutch, but was afterwards translated into Latin by an unknown hand. This furnishes the most compact and comprehensive statement of his opinions to be found in all his writings, though he has not, of course, there fully argued the various propositions he lays down.

The strife not even now ceasing, though so many councils, both civil and ecclesiastical, had failed in any respect to condemn Arminius, he was again summoned by the States the next year to meet Gomarus before them, each accompanied by four ministers of their respective parties. This conference was interrupted by the illness of Arminius. He had been troubled with a bilious disorder for some time, and had experienced a violent attack of it previously to his former appearance before the States-General. It now began to manifest alarming symptoms, and to set all remedies at defiance. It was no doubt greatly aggravated by the anxiety of mind resulting from the calumnies and misrepresentations of which he was the victim. Nor did these malevolent insinuations diminish with his increasing sickness. His left eye had become dim, and his arm was much swollen. This led his enemies to affirm that he must have been above all other men singularly wicked, judging from the nature of his chastisement. They quoted and applied to him these passages in Zechariah. "Their eyes shall consume away in their sockets," and "the sword shall be upon his arm and upon his right eye, his arm shall be clean dried up," &c. Bertius indignantly denounces "such an enormous, detestable, and impious" use of Scripture. He also remarks, that "it was not, after all, 'the right eye' that was disordered, but the left one;" and "that his arm was not 'clean dried up,'—on the contrary, it was much swollen."

Amid all his sufferings he appears to have maintained his usual firmness of mind. He conversed cheerfully with his

friends, made all the requisite arrangements of his affairs, commended himself frequently and fervently to God, and in his will left a testimony to the sincerity of his religious professions, and of his liberal and tolerant disposition towards all the followers of Christ. He fell asleep on the 19th of October, 1609, in the fiftieth year of his age. He had adopted as the motto of his life, "BONA CONSCIENTIA PARADISUS."

Was Arminius an Arminian? Is there any distinct scheme of doctrine to which the term Arminianism is properly applicable? If so, what is it? To answer these questions will be our object in the remaining pages of this article.

So many vague, inadequate, and contradictory descriptions of what purports to be Arminianism have been set forth within the last hundred years, and so many misrepresentations have been repeatedly and persistently promulgated concerning it by hostile writers, that it has been largely doubted, on the one hand, whether there were any such distinct system at all, and on the other, whether that which is called by that name does not differ far more from the notions of Arminius, than did his from those of Calvin and Beza. To clear up these doubts, to ascertain his views, and to trace their influence in the subsequent history of theological opinions, we must have recourse to the writings of Arminius himself. We shall refer principally to the *Declaratio Sententiæ*, made before the States-General, both because we there have his views in a convenient form, and because they were the maturest convictions of his judgment, having been written during the last year of his life. We ought to say that they are somewhat incomplete, death having overtaken him in the midst of his labors.

1. On Predestination. He sets forth three forms of this doctrine as held by different sections of the followers of Calvin. The *first* is that of the extreme supralapsarians, or, as they were sometimes called, the "creabularians." They taught that God had decreed to save certain particular men by his mercy or grace, and to condemn others by his justice, — and this without any regard to the character or conduct of any; that to this end he created Adam, and all men in him,

in a state of righteousness; he ordained them to commit sin, that they might thus become worthy of eternal condemnation (*eternæ condemnationis rei fierent*); that the elect God has decreed to conduct to faith in Jesus Christ and perseverance in it, by an irresistible grace and power, so that they cannot do otherwise than to believe (*non possint non credere*) and be saved; that those who are foreordained to perdition, God has decreed to deny the necessary grace, so that they are neither placed in a possible condition nor in any capacity of being saved.

Arminius presents twenty reasons for rejecting this doctrine. He avers that "it is not the foundation of Christianity, of salvation, or of its certainty." "It neither comprises in itself the whole, nor any part, of the Gospel." "This doctrine was never admitted, decreed, or approved by any *Council*, either general or particular, *for the first six hundred years after Christ*." He denies that any of the orthodox divines of eminence during the first six centuries approved of the doctrine. "Neither was it professed and approved by a single individual of those who showed themselves the strongest defenders of grace against Pelagius." \* He shows its absence from the *Harmony of Confessions* published at Geneva in the name of the Reformed and Protestant churches, and that it is not properly implied in the *Belgic Confession* and *Heidelberg Catechism*.

Having thus denied its binding obligation on the grounds of ecclesiastical authority, he proceeds to show its Scriptural invalidity. He avers that it is opposed to the nature of God, and to the nature of man, as also to the act of creation; to the nature of eternal life and of eternal death; to the nature of sin, and to the nature of divine grace, &c., &c.

The second kind of predestination is that held by the lower supralapsarians. The third kind was and is still known as sublapsarianism. They both differ from the first kind in this, — "that neither of them lays down *the creation* or *the fall* as a mediate cause foreordained of God for the execution of the preceding decree of predestination." They differ from each other in respect to *the fall*; — the second kind placing "election, with regard to the end," and *preterition* (the first part of reprobation) before the fall; while the third makes

them both subsequent. These two modifications had obviously been made to avoid the unhappy conclusion from the premises laid down in the first, that God is the author of sin. But Arminius shows, with no small cogency, that on neither of these latter schemes is this bad sequence avoidable; and he makes his general historical and Scriptural argument against the high supralapsarian view apply to these also.

After this protest against the Calvinistic dogmas, he states his own positive opinion in the following propositions:—

“I. The first absolute decree of God concerning the salvation of sinful man, is that by which he decreed to appoint his Son, Jesus Christ, for a Mediator, Redeemer, Saviour, Priest, and King, who might destroy sin by his own death, might by his obedience obtain the salvation which had been lost, and might communicate it by his own virtue.

“II. The second precise and absolute decree of God is that in which he decreed to receive into favor those who repent and believe, and, in Christ, for *his* sake and through *him*, to effect the salvation of such penitents and believers as persevered to the end; but to leave in sin, and under wrath, *all impenitent* persons and *unbelievers*, and to damn them as aliens from Christ.

“III. The third divine decree is that by which God decreed to administer in a sufficient and efficacious manner the means which were necessary for repentance and faith; and to have such administration instituted (1.) according to the Divine wisdom, by which God knows what is proper and becoming both to his mercy and his severity, and (2.) according to Divine justice, by which he is prepared to adopt whatever his wisdom may prescribe, and put it in execution.

“IV. To these succeeds the *fourth* decree, by which God decreed to save and damn certain particular persons. This decree has its foundation in the foreknowledge of God, by which he knew from all eternity those individuals who would through his preventing grace believe, and through his subsequent grace would persevere, according to the before described administration of those means which are suitable and proper for conversion and faith; and by which foreknowledge he likewise knew those who would not believe and persevere.”

For these opinions he presents twenty reasons briefly stated, but comprehensive and pregnant with meaning, and corresponding to the twenty reasons for rejecting the doctrine of absolute predestination.

As his views respecting predestination were those in which

he principally differed from the Calvinistic ministers, we have devoted more space to the presentation of them, as indeed he does himself. There are several other topics, however, embraced in the *Declaratio Sententiæ*, at which we must glance.

2. On the Providence of God his sentiments do not substantially vary from those of the Calvinists of his day. Although he states clearly enough, respecting Divine Providence, "that it preserves, regulates, governs, and directs all things, and that nothing in the world happens by accident or fortuitously" (*casu et fortuitu contingat*), yet there is that vague and cloudy conception of the relation of the human will to the Divine government which was common to most of the old theologians, and for that matter to not a few of the later ones."

3. Under the head of *Free Will* we find his doctrine of depravity implied, though we must look elsewhere to find it explicitly stated. He says: "In his *lapsed and sinful state*, man is not capable, of and by himself, either to think, to will, or to do that which is really good" (*neque cogitare, neque velle, neque facere posse*). Professor Stuart says: "The most thorough advocate of total depravity will scarcely venture to go farther in regard to man in his unregenerate state, than this statement of Arminius goes. Indeed, . . . . I believe that on this point Arminius would find few among the orthodox of the present day that would keep pace with him." But this falls much short of being his strongest expression of this doctrine. In his dissertation on the seventh of Romans, he says: "Adam corrupted himself and all his posterity, and so made them obnoxious to God's wrath" (*Adamum peccando et se et posteros omnes corrupuisse et iræ Dei obnoxias fecisse*). In his reply to Junius is found the following: "All have sinned in Adam, and are made answerable for transgression" (*Omnes in Adamo peccarunt et transgressionis rei sunt facti*). Even stronger expressions than these might be found to prove his "orthodoxy" respecting the guilt of the race incurred in Adam.

4. On the Grace of God he says: "I ascribe to grace the commencement, the continuance, and the consummation of all good, and to such an extent do I carry its influence, that a

man, although regenerate, can neither conceive, will, nor do any good at all, nor resist any evil temptation, without this preventing and exciting, this following and co-operating grace" (*sine hac preveniente et excitante, sequente et coeoperante gratia*). Nevertheless he strenuously rejects the notion of the irresistible influence of the Holy Spirit, therein widely separating from Calvinism. "*Multi Spiritui Sancto resistunt, et gratiam oblatam repellunt,*" says he.

5. The Perseverance of the Saints was yet an open question with him. He affirms that he had never taught that a true believer could either totally or finally fall away and perish; "yet," says he, "I will not conceal that there are passages of Scripture which seem to me to wear this aspect, and those answers to them which I have been permitted to see are not of such a kind as to approve themselves on all points to my understanding. On the other hand, certain passages are produced for the contrary doctrine, which are worthy of much consideration."

6. His opinions on the Assurance of Salvation, again, are not firmly settled, though he regards the doctrine with favor.

7. As to the Perfection of believers in this life, he follows Augustine in that; he "thinks it possible to live without sin, by means of the grace of Christ and of free will."

8. The Divinity of the Son of God is discussed at great length, and with much subtile and keen metaphysical analysis, after the scholastic method. A question of his orthodoxy had arisen from the fact that he had corrected a student who in a disputation had asserted that the Son was *αὐτόθεος*. The correction was not, as had been falsely reported, because he doubted the real divinity of the Son, but because this term would imply that the Son had the Divine Essence from himself, and not from the Father. Thus he distinguished between "being truly God," and "being God of himself;" affirming the truth of the former respecting Christ, but denying the latter. After much more of what would now be regarded simply as the most skilful and brilliant dialectic gymnastics, but which was then considered as legitimately pertaining to theological argumentation, he presents the following ternary propositions:—

"(1.) God is from *eternity*, possessing the Divine Essence from eternity.

"(2.) The Father is from *no one*, having the Divine Essence from no one.

"(3.) The Son is from *the Father*, having the Divine Essence from the Father."

"The word 'God,' therefore, signifies that he has the true Divine Essence; but the word 'Son,' that he has the Divine Essence from the Father. On this account he is correctly denominated both GOD and the SON OF GOD. But since he cannot be styled the FATHER, he cannot possibly be said *to have the Divine Essence from himself, or from no one.*" He therefore rejects the term *αὐτόθεος*, as indicating that the Divine essence is underived or uncommunicated. In this view he was doubtless sustained by the most orthodox Trinitarians of his own times, and by the whole body of the Nicene fathers, though these views at the present day might, in certain quarters, seem a little unsatisfactory.

9. On the Justification of Man before God, he affirms that his sentiments do not disagree with those held by the Reformed and Protestant churches. There had been a question respecting Faith as imputed for righteousness. After briefly explaining this, and showing its proper meaning, he gives the following as his view:—

"I believe that sinners are accounted righteous solely by the obedience of Christ, and that the righteousness of Christ is the only meritorious cause on account of which God pardons the sins of believers, and reckons them as righteous as if they had perfectly fulfilled the law. But since God imputes the righteousness of Christ to none except believers, I conclude that, in this sense, it may be well and properly said, *To a man who believes, Faith is imputed for righteousness through grace*, because God hath set forth his Son, Jesus Christ, to be a propitiation, a throne of grace (*ἰλαστήριον*) through faith in his blood."

We have now set forth the substance of his views as contained in the *Declaratio*. There are a few less prominent topics, not mentioned here, upon which he has expressed himself elsewhere. Among these are special grace and regeneration. Respecting the former it is somewhat difficult to represent him perfectly, partly because he only discusses the subject

so far as to correct some gross perversions of his views ; and partly because the terminology has a good deal changed since he wrote. As nearly as we can gather his opinions on the subject of common grace and special grace, they seem to differ from the Calvinistic theory in this : — that whereas the latter implies the irresistibility of special grace, he, as we have previously seen, denies this ; and though he believes in special influences of the Spirit in distinction from the common operation, he holds that God, of his grace, furnishes to every accountable person the ability to comply with the terms of the Gospel, which is honestly offered to all ; and that this ability is not an impracticable “ natural ability,” but a genuinely available power to become holy in the use of ordained means. In this representation we have the misfortune to differ from Professor Stuart, but, with all deference, we are constrained to regard the above as the real view of Arminius.

In his statement of the doctrine of regeneration, he differs less from the Calvinists of his own times than from those of later years. He makes it a “ mortification of sin and vivification of holiness,” produced by the Holy Spirit ; but, with Beza and Owen and others, he thinks that conviction and repentance precede regeneration, — not, as many of that party believe now, that they follow conversion.

We are now prepared to furnish a brief summary of the views of Arminius, which define his theological position. It is necessary here to remind the reader that his early death prevented him from digesting his opinions into a complete and systematic form, as he appears to have intended. He had, however, arrived at certain definite conclusions on questions of vast importance, in the decision of which he separated himself by a wide interval from his Calvinistic brethren. There are other points of a subordinate character upon which his opinions do not harmonize with the former ; he had not yet adjusted them to those great central doctrines.

The points on which he took issue with the Calvinists were chiefly these : — 1. *Conditional*, instead of *absolute* or *arbitrary* election and reprobation. He thought that men were elected because they believed ; not that they believed because they had been elected. 2. *Universal redemption*, — ample,

practicable provision made through the Divine grace for the salvation of every human soul. 3. Complete *freedom of the will*, — such as to allow it, not in a technical sense merely, but in reality, to avail itself of the provisions of grace and live, or to refuse them and die.

He separates himself from the Pelagians and Socinians by equally obvious lines. 1. He stoutly insists upon the utter hereditary corruption of human nature, and the moral helplessness of the entire race. 2. He places man's justification solely in the merits of the Atonement by Christ. 3. He asserts the proper and eternal Deity of Christ, and the Trinity of the Godhead.

We now come to the question respecting the relation of the theology of Arminius to that of the Church before his day; in other words, to the determination of his place in the history of theological opinions. It has already been seen, that he claimed for himself a harmony with the general voice of the Church up to the advent of Calvin. He differed in no essential particular on the controverted points from Erasmus and Melancthon, or the Lutherans generally. His followers never claimed that his doctrines were new, — such an assumption would prove fatal to any religious reformer. It has been said that the theological scheme which Arminius defended received his name because he collected and embodied in a system the scattered and frequently incidental observations of the Christian fathers and of the early Protestant divines, and more fully explained them than any previous writer. This is, perhaps, pretty near the truth, so far as it goes. But it is an inadequate statement of what is due to Arminius. He demands from the hand of history the honor of having interposed the first effectual barrier to the advancing tide of a vicious theological system, which threatened to overwhelm all Protestant Christendom.

The theology of Calvin had, from causes already enumerated, rapidly and widely disseminated itself in Western Europe. There was arising an ecclesiastical power, having its centre at Geneva, which was likely to rival that of Rome in its bigotry and intolerance, — perhaps, ultimately, in its corruption and profligacy. Against this Arminius protested, as Luther before him had against the Papacy. It is not as an originator of a

new system that Arminius stands out so prominently, but as an antagonist of new and revolting tests of orthodoxy, and of metaphysical perversions of Christian truth. Against this he brought to bear all the resources of a powerful mind, quick, clear, and penetrating in perception, skilful in analysis, and richly furnished with all the varied learning of the times. It was the first great check that Calvinism received, and its results were permanent. True, Arminius died in the beginning of the conflict, and before he had yet fairly arranged his forces or completed his base of operations. It is true, too, that his followers were apparently defeated; but the force of his protest did not expend itself with his departure, nor with the temporary subjugation of his successors.

In order to a full comprehension of what Arminianism is, we must glance at its history subsequent to the death of Arminius. This event produced no tendency to harmony in the churches. The conflict was, if possible, more violent than before. A majority of the ministers still cherished their Genevan predilections. Most of the civil functionaries probably sympathized with the friends of Arminius. The latter, fearing the overwhelming ecclesiastical influence against them, drew up and presented to the States-General a petition for toleration, accompanied by a scheme of their sentiments embraced in the noted *Five Points*. This petition was called, by those presenting it, *Remonstrantiæ*, and it gave to the party the name of *Remonstrants*. In consequence of this petition, the States enjoined upon the clergy not to exact a subscription of belief relative to the five points in question, but to go on in harmony together. Some of the Classes refused to obey this injunction, and it probably did little to allay the agitation. This was in 1610. During the same year the party of Gomarus presented a counter remonstrance, and from it received a corresponding name.

The next year the States ordered another conference between the parties, but with as little success as ever. The dissensions prevailed, without any decisive incident, for several years. In the mean time Gomarus resigned his professorship, and his place was filled by Simon Episcopius, a very young man, but an excellent scholar, a profound thinker, and most successful

debater. He had been a pupil, friend, and follower of Arminius, and now became the champion of the doctrines taught by his old master. In the early annals of our "Forefathers," Episcopius appears as the person with whom John Robinson discussed Arminianism at Leyden.

It has been seen how greatly Arminius desired a council fairly representing all shades of Protestant opinion, in which, after free and candid discussion, a general platform of simple and obvious Christian principles might be adopted, leaving minor doctrines to the independent judgment of individuals. To such a convention the Calvinistic party would not for a moment hear. In such an assembly their cherished purposes would be defeated. Indeed, at the time of the death of Arminius, his opponents were hostile to any kind of a council. But during these subsequent years the relations of the two parties to the civil power had changed, and the troubles had grown so serious that both sides called for a synod, though differing as to its character. The remonstrants wished for a General Council of Protestants. To this, as before, the Calvinistic party objected. In such an assembly the views of Arminius would prevail by a large majority, and would be entitled, not only to *toleration*, (which was all the remonstrants claimed,) but to the patronage of the government. Failing in this, the remonstrants demanded a provincial synod, before which their *five points* could be brought and discussed preparatory to a national synod. But in a provincial synod, where both parties would be nearly equally represented, the remonstrants would have the advantage in the popular argument, and would thus come into the national synod fully shielded by the civil power. A national synod, then, was the policy of the contra-remonstrants, and this, by the political combinations just then effected, they were able to obtain on their own terms.

Prince Maurice, whose splendid abilities and successes in war had made him a great favorite with the people, was now ambitiously scheming to subvert the liberties of the republic, and aspiring to absolute power. Barneveldt, the Grand Pensionary, who had done more than any other man, not only for the freedom and prosperity of Holland, but also for the success of Maurice in his legitimate sphere, perceived the

designs of the Stadtholder, and took measures to defeat them. But Barneveldt was a staunch Arminian, and on this account obnoxious to the Calvinists. Maurice saw his advantage in siding with them, though all his predilections were Arminian. This advantage he was not slow to seize. Henceforth his work was comparatively easy. Base calumnies were industriously circulated, ruinous to the reputation of the Grand Pensionary. In a little while, through the influence of the politico-ecclesiastical combination which the Prince had formed, he was able to seize the chief towns, and by the terror of his arms to bring the magistrates to submission. In the exercise of his usurped authority he procured the election of burgomasters and States-General favorable to his own schemes. Barneveldt was arrested and thrown into prison, together with the famous civilian and theologian, Grotius, Hoogerbeets, and several other principal leaders of the Arminian party.

The States, now subservient to the Calvinistic party, decided to call a national synod. To give it the appearance of as much authority as possible, it was thought best to invite divines from the Reformed churches in the neighboring countries. But, lest this should introduce troublesome elements from the side of Germany, the invitation was to such churches as had adopted both the platform and the doctrine of Geneva! Besides these foreign divines, the council was to consist of native ministers appointed by the several classes or presbyteries, and civil deputies chosen out of such province by the provincial states.

The letters of the States-General, inviting the foreign divines, were issued on the 25th of June, 1618, and the members were summoned to meet at Dort, on the 1st of November of the same year. In the mean time, preparations were made both by the politicians and the ecclesiastics for the selection of delegates favorable to their respective interests. As has been noted, Prince Maurice had taken care that the officials of the several cities and provinces should be of the right party. This secured the lay deputies from among the contra-remonstrants. The same religious party, being no longer under any restraint from the civil power, went so far as to depose, on charges of heresy and other pretexts, the remonstrant ministers; thus depriving them of their votes in the classes and presbyteries.

As a matter of course, the national synod was composed almost entirely of Calvinistic divines and deputies. Only three remonstrants were elected, and they were permitted to hold their places under such humiliating restrictions that they submitted to them but for a single day.

Such a council could have little difficulty in coming to an agreement on the main points in dispute. Instead of being invited to a free and friendly discussion, even before an assembly from representation in which they had been sedulously excluded, the remonstrants were indicted as heretics, and summoned to answer for their pernicious sentiments. Twelve men of the Arminian party, to whom certain members of the council were most hostile, were cited by name, and without preparation were required to answer the charges against them. We need not trace, in detail, the further history of this synod. How Episcopius and his friends naturally demurred at the restrictions under which they were placed; how they demanded such privileges as they had a right to claim under the citation in obedience to which they were present, and the terms of which the synod were seeking to violate; how, after many weeks of discussion as to the method of defence, the remonstrants refused to recognize the authority of this council, and were dismissed by the moderator, Bogeman, in a most violent and bitter speech,—may be found in the ample histories of the Synod of Dort, which, though written mostly by those partial to its proceedings, abundantly evidence its one-sided and dishonorable character.

Episcopius and his companions were easily found guilty of heresy, and were turned over to the jurisdiction of the civil magistrates. All the ministers who refused to subscribe to the creed prepared by this synod were at once deposed. The remonstrants were everywhere persecuted, and their pastors banished, or otherwise called to endure an incredible amount of suffering. Much of this intolerance must undoubtedly be credited to the character of the times. The apologists for the dominant party aver that the same spirit would have been manifested had the remonstrants succeeded. It is not at all impossible; yet we cannot avoid the conviction, that there was something essentially uncharitable and intolerant in these Calvinistic churches and their leading divines.

The exclusion of the remonstrant ministers from the Dutch churches lasted but a few years. After the death of Maurice they began to return. The States by degrees connived at their restoration to office, and, despite the influence of the Synod of Dort, they at length became the leading party in Holland. Their views gained favor rapidly in other countries. Some of the foreign divines who were at Dort appear to have been favorably impressed with even the partial representation of Arminianism there made, and on further examination embraced and advocated the same opinions. This system prevailed extensively in England during the century subsequent to the Synod of Dort, and many of the ablest divines of the Established Church embraced it.

But it must here be explained, that during this time the Arminian party did not consist merely of those who coincided with the Leyden Professor. Many who adopted his premises prosecuted the argument to conclusions from which he would have revolted. Others, exasperated at the treatment they received, were anxious to place themselves at as great a distance as possible from the Calvinistic platform. Very naturally, too, the Socinians and other Unitarians warmly sympathized with the remonstrants, and made common cause with them. When men begin to sympathize in any great object, it is no difficult matter to learn to accommodate themselves to each other's opinions. Thus it came to pass that the party known as Remonstrants on the Continent and as Arminians in England embraced very many whose views were more diverse from those of Arminius than were his from the doctrines of Calvin and Beza. In addition to this, the Calvinistic writers, who for various reasons had readiest access to the public ear, and the literary advantage in other respects for the greater part of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and with whom the *odium theologicum* is no more wanting than with other religious controversialists, studiously represented Arminianism as embracing all that is most heretical in orthodox estimation, placing it quite beyond the pale of the Evangelical system. Thus for a long period Arminianism, even to large numbers of people to whom the Calvinistic dogmas were utterly repulsive, denoted a vague system, embracing they hardly knew what destructive errors.

Of late, however, Calvinistic divines have for the most part ceased to misrepresent Arminianism, and by religious writers generally it is recognized as a distinct system. Its views are substantially those embraced in the Five Points of the remonstrants. In short, it is the system of those Christians who, holding to the dogma of an infallible Bible, believe in conditional instead of unconditional election ; in universal redemption through the vicarious sacrifice of Christ ; and in the power of choice uncontrolled by irresistible influences. This is Arminianism, and *Arminius was an Arminian*.

These sentiments are now held by the vast majority of the Protestant Churches. They prevail, as they did before the time of Arminius, throughout Germany and in the North of Europe. In Belgium, France, and Switzerland they are less prevalent, but influential. In England, though there has been much discussion as to whether the seventeenth Article of the Established Church is susceptible of an Arminian or a Calvinistic interpretation, and though, if we may gather anything from the best writers on both sides, we may infer that it will bear either interpretation, yet the great majority of the English divines for the last century are clearly Arminians. In America the churches are nearly equally divided. Calvinism is the prevailing system among the Protestants of France and of Switzerland. It has a large influence in Holland and Belgium, and is almost the exclusive sentiment of Scotland.

Denominationally estimated, Arminianism is the common doctrine of the Lutheran Churches in Europe and America ; of the Episcopalians, both in England and this country ; of the General Baptists, and of many minor sects, on both sides of the Atlantic. All the branches of the great Methodist family throughout the world embrace it heartily. This last body claim that the theological opinions more prominent among them, and more free from admixture with other doctrines than among other denominations, are substantially the Arminianism of Arminius. John Wesley, who was always bold enough to do a true and right thing when he thought it to be such, did much to rescue the name of Arminius from obloquy. "One might as well cry, 'Mad dog,' " says he, "as to call a man an Arminian." Yet, when he established a

monthly periodical for the benefit of his people, he called it *The Arminian Magazine*.

To the practical mind of Wesley, indeed, it was morally impossible to do otherwise than adopt the theological views of the Leyden Reformer in opposition to those of Calvin. In this he separated from Whitefield and the Countess of Huntington's preachers, and the result was a long and fierce controversy. The doctrines of man's lost condition, of general redemption, and a "free salvation," were the chief points of theology involved in the sermons of the fervent itinerants, as they called to their multitudinous assemblies to repent and believe, appealing always to their own consciousness of a power to choose or to reject the offered remedy. It is an anomaly in the religious world,—not, however, without its analogies,—that while the Methodists have nothing in their articles of faith which demands it of them, they are the most earnest and persistent defenders of Arminianism, and most jealous of any encroachment on what is to every minister a compact, well-defined, and positive, though unwritten creed. The twenty-five Articles of the Methodist Church in America were taken substantially from the Articles of the Church of England. Nearly half of them were designed to guard against Papistical doctrines and usages, and are now virtually of no importance. Nor do the remaining articles exclude any shade of evangelical belief from the Methodist communion. In fact, broad as is the platform of these Articles, it is not necessary that a candidate for membership subscribe to them. Only one condition is required in these societies,—“a desire to flee from the wrath to come, and to be saved from their *sins*.” This desire must be evidenced by a life corresponding to certain moral rules; and though the member is also bound not to inveigh against the general sentiments held in the denomination, he is at liberty to enjoy whatever opinion he pleases, provided his life be holy. Yet there is probably a greater unanimity of clearly defined theological opinion in no other denomination than in this; and this sentiment is substantially Arminian.

Most of the denominations who hold this doctrine at the present day do not adopt all the views of Arminius. His notions respecting original sin, as we have seen, were those

entertained by the Calvinistic theologians of his time, and by others before them. They are not received by the anti-Calvinistic churches of the present. The progress of the Arminians, however, in this respect, has been no greater than that of a majority of their opponents. In fact, Calvinism itself has undergone a wonderful change, at least in its exoteric statement of doctrine. The genuine theology of the great Genevan Reformer now holds sway in but few localities. In a modified form, it is the creed of the Scotch Presbyterians, of the English Independents, of the Dutch, Swiss, and French Reformed Churches, of the Calvinistic Baptists in England and America, and of the Presbyterians, Orthodox Congregationalists, and a few smaller denominations, in this country. But the Calvinism of the modern Calvinists would have more horribly shocked the friends of Gomarus than the Arminianism of Arminius.

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ART. V.—THE FRANKLIN SEARCH AND ITS RESULTS.

1. *The Northwest Passage and the Plans for the Search of Sir John Franklin. A Review.* By JOHN BROWN, F. R. G. S. London: E. Stanford. 1858.
2. *The Voyage of the "Fox" in the Arctic Seas. A Narrative of the Discovery of the Fate of Sir John Franklin and his Companions.* By CAPTAIN MCCLINTOCK, R. N., LL. D. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1860.
3. *An Arctic Boat Journey in the Autumn of 1854.* By ISAAC I. HAYES, Surgeon of the Second Grinnell Expedition. Boston: Brown, Taggard, and Chase. 1860.

THERE is a great contrast between the map of the Arctic regions given to Sir John Franklin in 1845, as the best guide then to be had, and that which is published in 1860 to illustrate the last chapter in the search for Franklin. Navigators had traced the shores of Baffin's Bay, but Smith's Sound at the north still preserved its mysteries intact, to be unlocked by Kane; Parry had made his wonderful run through Lancaster Sound and Barrow's Strait, but the western outlets of this

great channel defied even his daring and enterprise ; their northern shore was bounded by the indefinite range of the "Parry Islands," of which even the insularity was little more than a bold guess ; the water-course between Capes Walker and Rennell was unexplored, while to the west of Cape Walker all was unknown, except a single scanty section, laid down from an over-ice view from twenty miles' distance, of the coast of Banks Land. Sir James Ross and his father had entered Prince Regent's Inlet, crossed Boothia, and ascertained the position of the Magnetic Pole ; but the western coast of North Somerset and Boothia was still unknown ; the channel east of King William's Land making that an island was unsuspected, — a fact destined to have a grave bearing upon the fate of Franklin ; travellers from the continent, and among them Franklin himself, had traversed the line of straits which bound its northern shore, from the Mackenzie to Back's River, but the connection with the eastern ocean was left to be established by drifting fragments of Franklin's ships. A channel through the four degrees of latitude which constituted the sole barrier to the discovery of the Northwest Passage was indeed believed to exist, and the discovery of this channel was Franklin's errand, — a service which he declared to be very near his heart ; but precisely where the brave adventurer was to look for this channel, and how far prudence would allow him to persevere in any one direction, were points which could not be determined.

We thus refer to the state of Arctic discovery in 1845, because, in considering the search for the Franklin expedition, this is one of the very first conditions of the problem which so recently excited the interest of the world. In order to carry ourselves back, however, to the point of departure in 1848, when the first searching expedition was organized, two other elements must be taken into account, — the general opinion as to the direction in which the Northwest Passage was to be sought, and the instructions given to Franklin when he sailed. With the story now fully before us, we know that the most careful adherence to the course of search thus indicated could not have saved the noble leader of the lost expedition, nor would it probably have saved the lives of any of

his unfortunate companions ; still, it would have prevented years of individual suspense and disappointment, and we should have had a far more satisfactory record of the intelligence and discernment both of the public and the scientific world.

The views then entertained as to the proper direction in which to look for the long-sought passage are so well described by Sir Roderick Impey Murchison, in an address to the Royal Geographical Society, delivered just after the Franklin expedition sailed, that we copy the passage.

“The route by Lancaster Sound and Barrow’s Strait leads nearly in a direct line about west-southwest to Behring’s Strait ; and is, therefore, apparently the proper, and, as far as our knowledge hitherto extends, the only maritime route to be pursued on the passage to that strait. There is, indeed, an opening which issues from the northern side of Barrow’s Strait, called by Parry Wellington Inlet, and which in appearance is little inferior to Lancaster Sound ; but its direction points towards the Pole, and the only chance of its becoming available for the Northwest Passage would be that it leads into the open sea, and that the cluster of islands in that direction will be found to cease.

“The track, however, expected to be pursued on this occasion is through the now well-known Lancaster Sound and Barrow’s Strait as far as Cape Walker, on the southern side of the latter, between which and Melville Island the expedition is to take a middle course by the first opening that presents itself after passing the cape, and steering to the southward, and half-way between Banks Land (if such exist) and the northern coast of America, steer directly, or as far as the ice will admit, for the centre of Behring’s Strait. The distance to this from the centre point between Cape Walker and Melville Island is about nine hundred miles.”

This plan of search was that which had been pointed out by the veteran Sir John Barrow as early as 1836. The preliminary inquiry, undertaken with the concurrent advice of Sir John Franklin for the purpose of settling the question as to a passage by the coast of America, had been attempted by Sir George Back, in his unfortunate voyage in the *Terror* in that year, and had been partially carried out by Dease and Simpson, in 1837. The result had been to turn the general attention to the unexplored region between Cape Walker and

Banks Land, a distance less than three hundred miles. The field of inquiry having been thus narrowed down, Franklin's instructions, dated May 5, 1845, were drawn up in accordance with the general view. The most interesting portion of them is as follows:—

“In proceeding to the westward, you will not stop to examine any openings either to the northward or southward in that strait, but continue to push to the westward without loss of time, in the latitude of about  $74\frac{1}{4}^{\circ}$ , till you have reached the longitude of that portion of land on which Cape Walker is situated, or about  $98^{\circ}$  W. From that point we desire that every effort be used to endeavor to penetrate to the southward and westward, in a course as direct towards Behring's Straits as the position and extent of the ice, or the existence of land at present unknown, may admit.

“We direct you to this particular part of the Polar Sea as affording the best prospect of accomplishing the passage to the Pacific, in consequence of the unusual magnitude, and apparently fixed state, of the barrier of ice observed by the *Hecla* and *Gripa* in the year 1820, off Cape Dundas, the southwestern extremity of Melville Island; and we therefore consider that loss of time would be incurred in renewing the attempt in that direction; but should your progress in the direction before ordered be arrested by ice of a permanent appearance, and if, when passing the mouth of the strait between Devon and Cornwallis Islands, you had observed that it was open and clear of ice, we desire that you will duly consider, with reference to the time already consumed, as well as to the symptoms of a late or early close of the season, whether that channel might not offer a more practicable outlet from the archipelago, and a more ready access to the open sea, where there would be neither islands nor banks to arrest and fix the floating masses of ice; and if you should have advanced too far to the southwestward to render it expedient to adopt this new course before the end of the present season, and if, therefore, you should have determined to winter in that neighborhood, it will be a matter for your mature deliberation whether in the ensuing season you would proceed by the above-mentioned strait, or whether you would persevere to the southwestward, according to the former directions.”

Sir Roderick Murchison's statement of the question, — and to this we might add the opinions of many of the most illustrious Arctic navigators, — and above all Franklin's instructions from the Admiralty, thus left no question as to the course

which he was to pursue, and no question, therefore, as to the quarter in which he was to be sought. Cape Walker was his starting-point, from which he was to carry his search to the southwest; he was referred to Parry's experience for a warning against a more westerly course, and Wellington Channel and the openings to the north he was not to attempt, unless his progress to the southwest were arrested by ice "of a permanent character." And the last letters received from Franklin, written in July, 1845, at the Whalefish Islands, show that he fully entered into the spirit of this plan, and indicate a purpose to spare no exertions to carry it out, before trying any other course. Although Franklin sailed into an unknown region, there was therefore some clew to his probable course,—a clew which pointed out a particular direction for the search, as that to be followed until obstacles of a permanent character should be met.

Franklin's ships were last seen on the 26th of July, 1845, then in Baffin's Bay. In January, 1847, Sir John Ross called the attention of the Admiralty to their long absence. Towards the close of that year serious apprehensions began to be entertained, and in January, 1848, the first searching expedition sailed. It is not our purpose to review in detail the history of the protracted exertions which followed. There are few brighter pages in the long annals of British enterprise and daring than that which records the generous self-sacrifice and fearless perseverance of the men who sought to relieve the lost navigators; there is no brighter page in history than that which tells the story of the courageous hope and steady devotion of the wife of the lost commander. The result of these ten years of patient effort is now well known; and although it was all in vain, and much of it was sadly misdirected, it is still happily given us to know that, even if guided by certain knowledge instead of wild conjecture, these efforts could have availed nothing, and that the full disclosure of the sorrowful truth was reserved as a reward for that constancy which outlived the hope of all others.

The history of the search is traced out in detail, often with wearisome minuteness and repetition, but with good sense and an enthusiastic love of the subject, by Mr. Brown, in the book

whose title we have placed at the head of this article. The early and complete neglect of the plan of search with which Franklin set out; the wild guesses made, listened to, and acted upon; the extended and remote fields explored, when that to which Franklin was ordered to proceed had never been thoroughly examined; the attention given to Wellington Channel, to the Parry Islands, to the supposed open sea around the Pole, when Cape Walker had never been visited, and while all to the southwest of it was fast locked in mystery, never solved until the fate of the expedition had become known; — all this is dwelt upon by Mr. Brown earnestly and sorrowfully, with abundant scorn and indignation for some of those who guided the search, which is at times bestowed with more vigor than discrimination. The reader, however, is glad to find that Mr. Brown's views, so generally correct, did not remain secret until the discoveries of Rae had disclosed the whole mystery, but were embodied in a paper addressed to the President of the Royal Geographical Society so early as December, 1850.

The earlier speculations, and the orders under which the earlier expeditions sailed in search of Franklin, were in general based upon his instructions. The first Behring's Straits expedition, and Dr. Richardson's overland party, were sent out with the hope that Franklin might have found the channel where he sought it, and so might be first heard of from the west. Sir James Clarke Ross's expedition, however, although ordered to penetrate Barrow's Strait, and to visit Cape Walker, had its attention directed more particularly to the northern shore of the strait, to Melville Island and Banks Land, and to the western shore of North Somerset, than to the intervening coast-line between Cape Walker and Banks Land. Austin, Ommaney, and Penny, in 1850, had their attention called to the Cape Walker route; but still so much prominence was given to Wellington Channel, and even to Jones's Sound, that in fact much generous labor was wasted in that direction. And we may add, that in some respects it seems almost unfortunate that this expedition found evidence of Franklin's having spent his first winter at Beechey Island; for as no record of proceedings and intentions for the future was found, — a fact which has occasioned no little surprise, — the discovery seems

to have served mainly to distract attention from the proper course of search, and, without any sufficient reason, to have given confidence to the increasing party who believed that Franklin was locked in the ice or wrecked north of Wellington Channel. Lieutenant (now Captain) Sherard Osborn succeeded, however, in carrying a sledge party to  $103^{\circ} 25'$  West. On the day after Osborn reached his farthest point, Mr. Wyniatt, coming from McClure's embayed ship, the *Investigator*, which had entered Behring's Straits, also reached his farthest point towards the east; only a hundred and twenty miles separated these two officers, and within that space lay the broad strait now known as McClintock Channel, the discovery of which might have given a very different turn to the history of the search. Osborn and Wyniatt, however, were both forced to turn back, and McClintock Channel was never visited until, after Franklin's fate had been settled, its northern shore was traced by Captain Allen Young.

We mention these facts, not because it is certain that McClintock Channel does afford the key to Franklin's fate, but to show that, at the time when the search began to be directed exclusively to the north, it had not been proved that Franklin had ever pursued any course different from that laid down in his instructions. In spite, however, of the fact that the chances, and even the probabilities, of finding traces of Franklin southwest of Cape Walker had not been exhausted, Sir Edward Belcher's squadron of five vessels sailed, with instructions dated April 15, 1852, in which attention was directed strictly to the north of Barrow's Strait. As if to give a timely warning of the truth, intelligence was received on the 3d of the same month from the indefatigable Dr. Rae, then leading a land expedition, announcing the discovery in Parker Bay, on the southeast of Victoria Land, of two fragments of wrecked matter thrown up by the tide, and believed to have come from Franklin's ships. Dr. Rae called attention to the fact, which had been noted as early as 1837, and was known to Franklin, that through the straits which separate Victoria Land from the continent the tide comes from the east, proving some communication between the waters east of Victoria Land and Barrow's Strait. This hint, however, although immeasurably

more important than any argument in favor of the northern search, was suffered to pass unnoticed, and both Belcher and our own Kane set out upon a fruitless search in the quarter which Franklin was forbidden to approach.

Similar traces were afterwards discovered by Captain Collinson in the same neighborhood, during his long and admirably conducted search in the *Enterprise*. It was Collinson's lot, however, after the exercise of gallantry never surpassed in Arctic discovery, to find his labors anticipated at almost every point. He penetrated Prince of Wales Strait, solving the Northwest Passage in that direction only to find himself anticipated by McClure, who had explored it fifteen days earlier. In May, 1853, a strait scarcely fifty miles wide divided him from the relics of Franklin's ships on King William's Island; and so in this case, before his despatches describing the fragments found by him had reached England, Dr. Rae's letter of July 29, 1854, had revealed the fate of the lost expedition.

We need not dwell upon Dr. Rae's discoveries, so well remembered by all, further than to recall the fact that they placed the survivors of Franklin's expedition, in the spring of 1850, as nearly as could be ascertained from the Esquimaux, on the north shore of King William's Island, then apparently much reduced, and setting out upon a desperate attempt to escape overland. This discovery, which we may almost term accidental, since it was not made by following up the course of the expedition by any traces or upon any definite theory, but was struck out in the course of a wide and exhaustive search, recalled the attention of the public to the quarter to which the search should have been directed. The tide in the southern straits, Dr. Rae's floating fragments in Parker Bay, and the precise instructions given to Franklin, at once took their place in the chain of evidence; the theory of a channel leading from Melville Sound to the south, maintained in its more important features by Sir John Richardson at least as early as 1849, gained ground, and it was found that, by a singular chance, a part of the shore line of the sound, sufficient to account for the opening of the supposed strait, had never been examined, having escaped Wyniatt and Osborn by

the vexatious and remarkable coincidence in their movements which we have already described.

Captain McClintock, therefore, when he set out in the *Fox* on the 1st of July, 1857, went out not so much for purposes of discovery as to go over ground already laid out for him, to collect what might yet be learned as to the history of the unfortunate expedition, to gather up any relics which might be found, and to settle if possible the harrowing doubts as to the possibility that any survivors still longed for relief. Under what auspices this last expedition set out, by what sacrifices, with what devotion and perseverance, never tiring after so many fruitless struggles, it was fitted and sent upon its work, is well known. All the wild romance in which the fancy clothes the daring and adventure of Arctic discovery is tame by the side of Lady Franklin's story. Her name and her husband's will now be the last to fade from that singular and fascinating page of human history.

Lady Franklin was peculiarly fortunate in securing the aid of Captain McClintock,—who, we are glad to see, has now been knighted for his gallant services. He had been out with Sir James Ross in the first year of the search, and had then descended Peel Sound with that experienced navigator, until forced to return; he was one of Austin's lieutenants in 1850, and as commander of a sledge party on the north side of Barrow's Strait accomplished some work of great importance, at the same time reaping the benefit of the search conducted by Osborn and Browne of the same expedition on the southern side of the strait. He also accompanied Sir Edward Belcher in 1852, and then accomplished some of the most remarkable feats in sledge travelling ever yet known. He may be called, indeed, one of the chief inventors of the modern system of sledge travelling. An expedition under him was therefore sure of being conducted judiciously and bravely, and carried on to the extreme limit of human power. After the loss of an entire season in Baffin's Bay, by a drift in the ice even more remarkable than that which once swept De Haven and Kane out of Wellington Channel, McClintock carried the *Fox* safely to Brentford Bay, and thence made his search by sledging, after repeated efforts to pass Bellot Strait. His suc-

cess is still fresh in the memory of all. He tells the story of his efforts in a simple, frank, and seaman-like style, seldom resorting to any embellishment, rarely departing from plain statement or practical inference; but the tale loses no interest by such treatment. And when the narrative brings the reader upon King William's Island itself, as he is carried along the path which those weary and broken men once trod, where their remains still bleach as they fell, or lie in the boat which was too heavy for their scanty strength, — when he comes to the point where they threw aside all but the simplest necessities of existence as they undertook that last journey, — we know of nothing in literature which has a more powerful interest than this unpretending and graphic narrative.

The record found by McClintock's party at Point Victory is the only written memorial left of the Franklin expedition, except the gravestones at Cape Riley. The record is short, hastily written, and made by piecemeal; still it gives us a clear, and even minute, view of most of the history of the expedition. As we have said, Franklin's ships were last seen in Baffin's Bay, July 28, 1845. Entering Lancaster Sound, as if to defeat all calculations, they actually did ascend Wellington Channel to the seventy-seventh parallel, anticipating Dr. Haven and Dr. Kane's discovery of Grinnell Land, and returned by the west side of Cornwallis Island, the insularity of which, discovered by Franklin in his first season, escaped all subsequent navigators. This singular movement, made apparently in preference to any attempt at the southwest, is very possibly to be referred to heavy ice in Barrow's Strait and unusually open water in Wellington Channel; but it seems to have proceeded from no serious resolution to attempt the passage by Wellington Channel, but simply to have been undertaken in order to turn to account the remnants of a season otherwise lost. The gravestones at Beechey Island correct an error in the record, and show that the *Erebus* and *Terror* wintered there in 1845 – 46. The next season the serious work of the expedition was entered on, and on the 12th of September, 1846, the ships were beset about fifteen miles northwest of Cape Felix, the northern point of King William's Island, having reached that point by a route which we shall presently consider.

They wintered in the ice in 1846-47. May 24th, 1847, a small party under Commander Gore of the *Erebus* set out from the ships to explore, and placed a record, written upon one of the blanks furnished by the Admiralty, under a cairn supposed to be that built by Sir James Ross in 1831. This paper gave the position of the ships in the preceding winter, told the stay of Beechey Island and Wellington Channel, and added, "Sir John Franklin commanding the expedition. All well." April 22d, 1848, the ships were abandoned; one hundred and five men under Captain Crozier landed; the paper left by "the late" Commander Gore was taken out, the sad history of the expedition up to that time was written upon it, and it was left in another place, to tell its story to McClintock eleven years later. The last date upon the record is April 25th, 1848. Sir John Franklin had died on the 11th of June, 1847, when England was just beginning to be really uneasy at his absence. Disease had done its work among the crew, for twenty-four men out of one hundred and twenty-nine had died, — almost one man in five; from which we may gather that the third winter in those regions under such disheartening circumstances had proved too much for human endurance, and had probably reduced the strength of the survivors more than they were aware. They set out overland, however, on the 26th of April, 1848, for Back's Fish River, upon a route as forbidding as any that is to be found in those desolate regions.

Six weeks later Sir James Ross left England with the first searching expedition, and in June of the next year descended Peel Sound with McClintock, finally turning back at a point which is scarcely two hundred miles from Cape Felix. Could he have reached that cape, — and McClintock with his later experience in sledge travelling would have reached it, — the whole mystery would have been revealed; but where were then the unhappy remnant of the expedition? Still nearer did Rae and Collinson approach to the great secret, without discovering it, when in 1851 and 1853 they trod the shore of Victoria Land, separated from the scene of calamity by a strait scarcely fifty miles wide. And it is interesting to observe, that Dr. Rae, in 1851, found the fragments in Parker Bay just

after they had been brought in by the flood tide, since, "although they were touching the beach, they did not rest upon it." These fragments, we may suppose, came from the ship, which, according to several Esquimaux accounts, was crushed or sunk in the ice, perhaps that very spring, scarcely a hundred miles away. The other ship was said by the natives to have lain upon the western shore of King William's Island as late as the winter of 1857-58.

The most remarkable point, however, in the whole story, is the proposition made to the Admiralty, by Dr. Richard King, to lead a party overland, in the summer of 1848, to Back's Fish River, and thence to the western coast of Boothia. There is scarcely a doubt that this plan, if carried out, would have brought Dr. King upon the track of the lost party, while a part of them still survived, or that its rejection may, perhaps, be regarded as the final destruction of all hope. The authorities who rejected the plan, however, can hardly be censured for their judgment; the scheme was based, in some respects, upon mistaken premises, the reasoning of its author was loose and unsatisfactory, and his selection of the Great Fish River as the place to be searched seems more like a lucky accident than an actual deduction from a sound view of facts.

It is now twelve years since the retreating party from the ships set out on their weary journey. A part appear to have returned to their ships, and perished there; a part, probably all the rest, went on to Montreal Island, and there died. It seems scarcely probable that any survived the winter of 1848-49, considering their weakened condition after three Arctic winters, and their later privations; and as to the chance of any surviving at this length of time, we can see no room for hope. Whites may be able to live among the Esquimaux, but there is not the slightest trace of any mingling of these unhappy men with the natives; and white men living among the Esquimaux would hardly fail, in twelve years, to make their way to some region of civilization.

As the dates which we have already given sufficiently show, there is reason to doubt, even if King William's Island had been reached, and the traces of the retreating party followed up by Sir James Ross when he descended Peel Sound, whether

he would have found any of them living, and certainly none of the later expeditions could by possibility have done so. We may then at least enjoy the reflection, that the singular misdirection of the search to which we have referred did not prolong the sufferings of the unhappy wanderers, nor sacrifice any actual chance of relief. It is to be remembered, however, that all this was then unknown. For aught that any civilized man could tell, Franklin might still be living with his crews, locked in by the Arctic ice, and anxiously looking year after year for succor; and no man could say that a single error, a single delay or neglect, might not result in the practical extinguishment of the last hope. We cannot wonder, therefore, that the departure from the correct views of the earlier speculations as to Franklin's course, before a thorough search in the right direction had been made, should have roused the indignation of the few advocates of the correct theory, and seemed to them like a wilful abandonment of the missing crews.

As to the route actually pursued by Franklin, there is one remarkable deficiency in our information. We know that he wintered in 1845-46 at Beechey Island, and the record found at Point Victory tells us that he was beset in the ice northwest of King William's Island on the 12th of September in the same year. But how did he reach the latter place, — along what straits and past what shores did he sail? The record is silent upon this point. No paper was found at Beechey Island, — from which the expedition is believed, from some indications, to have departed in haste; on none of the coast lines has the slightest indication been found to show that the Erebus and Terror had ever visited them, and not even in Wellington Channel — navigated by Franklin with such singular success, and where he might well be expected to leave evidence of his discoveries and of the great northing which he had made — has so much as a single trace of his passage been found. In fact, the entire absence of any record up to the abandonment of the ships is a point so remarkable, that it seems almost difficult to believe that there is not deposited somewhere on Beechey Island a paper which has been overlooked. McClintock searched anxiously, but without success, in Simpson's cairn, built in 1839, at Cape Herschel, knowing that the retreating

party must have passed it in going to the mainland, and believing it to be the natural place for them to select for leaving some memorial of their passage. But the cairn had been partly broken down, "as if by persons seeking for something deposited beneath." Franklin's men, struggling to save their own lives, would hardly have opened it except to leave a record. That it was opened by the Esquimaux, — who have also destroyed "the pillar" of Sir James Ross at Point Victory, and his cairn at the Magnetic Pole, — and that this was done after the retreating party's visit, is thus argued by McClintock, who believes that there was left here some record, and perhaps valuable documents, which the sufferers could not hope to carry far, and which might give us full information as to their previous course.

"It is easy to tell whether a cairn has been put up or touched within a moderate period of years; if very old, the outer stones have a weathered appearance, lichens will have grown upon the sheltered portions, and moss in the crevices; but if recently disturbed, even if a single stone is turned upside down, these appearances are altered. If a cairn has been recently built, it will be evident, because the stones picked up from the neighborhood would be bleached on top by the exposure of centuries, whilst underneath they would be colored by the soil in which they were imbedded. To the eye of the native hunter these marks of a recent cairn are at once apparent; and unless Simpson's cairn (built in 1839) had been disturbed by Crozier, I do not think the Esquimaux would have been at the trouble of pulling it down to plunder the *câche*; but having commenced to do so, would not have left any of it standing, *unless they found what they sought*.

"I noticed with great care the appearance of the stones, and came to the conclusion that the cairn itself was of old date, and had been erected many years ago, and that it was reduced to the state in which we found it by people having broken down one side of it; the displaced stones, from being turned over, looking far more fresh than those in that portion of the cairn which had been left standing. It was with a feeling of deep regret and much disappointment that I left this spot without finding some certain record of those martyrs to their country's fame. Perhaps in all the wide world there will be few spots more hallowed in the recollection of English seamen than this cairn on Cape Herschel."

We must therefore look elsewhere for proof of the course

followed by Franklin; unfortunately, all the evidence which we can obtain must still leave the point somewhat in doubt. The open space north of King William's Island can be reached by three channels. The route followed by McClintock through Prince Regent's Inlet and Bellot Strait could not have been followed by Franklin, because the inlet was known by him to be much clogged with ice, having been the scene of Parry's and Ross's difficulties; Bellot Strait was not then known to exist, and a supposed strait to the south was after all merely conjectured to exist; while his orders were positive, to push on "till he reached the longitude of that portion of land on which Cape Walker is situated, or about  $98^{\circ}$  W.," and then try to the southward and westward. The other two channels are Peel Sound, through which McClintock supposes Franklin to have sailed, and the newly-discovered McClintock Channel, farther to the west, through which Brown and others supposed him to have sailed before McClintock's recent discoveries.

We confess, that the weight of the argument seems to us still to favor the more western route. It is to be observed, that at the date of Franklin's visit Peel Sound had never been entered. Parry had sailed by it at some distance, had observed the opening between Capes Walker and Rennell, and had thought of trying for a passage in this direction when foiled in the West, but had found his way barred by ice. Sir James Ross, upon his celebrated visit to the Magnetic Pole, had observed that at Cape Nicholas the land trends to the north, and conjectured that it followed the same direction to Cape Walker. Within these limits, and except these conjectures, nothing was known of Peel Sound until 1849. And it is to be remembered, that the general tenor of the speculations in which the Franklin expedition had its origin, and perhaps we may say of his instructions, points beyond Cape Walker as the direction to be first tried. For example, besides the extract from Sir Roderick Murchison's address given above, Parry in 1848 defines the search as lying between the 100th and 110th meridians; and Richardson, Franklin's old companion, not only believed him to have gone southwest from Cape Walker, but even believed in the existence of a channel west of Cape Walker leading to Coronation Gulf,

and sent Rae in this direction as early as May, 1849. Other things being equal, then, we have a right to say that Franklin is likely to have sailed to the southwest, and hit upon McClintock Channel, rather than to have sailed at once down Peel Sound.

So far as concerns any special condition of the ice, like that which may have sent the expedition up Wellington Channel the first year, all is conjecture, and weighs as much in favor of one route as the other. We must look, then, to the navigability of the two channels; and here we are met by the fact that both have been pronounced impassable. The probabilities, however, in this singular conflict seem to us to be against the route by Peel Sound. Kennedy and Bellot, in 1852, even reported that to the westward Bellot Strait opened into a bay, there being a continuous barrier of land from North Somerset to Prince of Wales Island, which, although they did not lay down on their chart, as it had not been actually travelled over, led them to alter the course of their search! This singular error, of a kind not uncommon in those regions, has been disposed of, however, by McClintock and Young's actual survey of the shores of Peel Sound. It is to be observed, however, that Peel Sound has been visited by as many as seven different parties, and never found in a navigable condition. Lieutenant Browne, in 1851, visited its western shore, and was led to suspect that "the floe was frozen solid to the bottom," and that "this channel is rarely, if ever, sufficiently open for the purposes of navigation." McClintock himself attempted to enter it with the Fox, in 1858, but could only penetrate twenty-five miles. Ross and Kennedy both found the ice very heavy, and although McClintock's sledge parties from Bellot Strait found the ice of only one year's growth, their visits at the favorable season of two summers always found the channel completely blocked.

As regards McClintock Channel, it is to be observed that Ommaney and Osborn, while speaking of the heavy and fixed ice off the northwestern shore of Prince of Wales Island, saw the signs of an immense pressure upon that shore from the Melville Island pack, but they found no signs of the spacious channel which is now known to exist; nor is it to be wondered

at, that, coming in May, when that flat shore was blocked with polar ice, they failed to discover the movement which goes on outside of the heavy ice-masses of the coast. Neither Wyniatt nor Osborne, at their farthest points of simultaneous observations, saw any evidence of a southerly strait, and yet there lay between them a channel one hundred miles broad. Captain Allen Young, who actually explored the northern shore of this channel in May, 1859, represents it then as a continuous ice stream from the northwest, — not stationary, since it carries down the ice which presses upon the western shore of King William's Island. There is movement, therefore, in this channel, and also a strong and steady current from the northwest, accounting in part for the drift observed by Parry off the western end of Melville Island. As we have seen, Franklin's instructions sent him in the direct course to find this current; we have no reason to suppose that he failed of finding it, and know that, if he succeeded, it must have disclosed to him the water communication with Victoria Strait, and must have thus given him the key to the great question which he was solving. In this state of the case, we confess that we are disposed to wait for more proof, both that Peel Sound is navigable and that McClintock Channel is not, before we give our faith without reservation to Captain Young's opinion, formed from observations made so early in the season as May.

We have dwelt upon this point somewhat minutely, because the route which Franklin took, whether by one channel or the other, led him to the great discovery, for years the chief object of Arctic search, — THE NORTHWEST PASSAGE. He brought his ships through, in advance of all other navigators, into a waterway communicating with the Pacific, and it is quite possible that it was simply a vexatious mistake in the geography of previous travellers that prevented his sailing through to Behring's Strait. When Franklin sailed from England, "King William's Land" was laid down as a peninsula, connected with the mainland by an isthmus, where, in 1854, Rae found a navigable strait. Franklin, therefore, had no course open to him, except that by Victoria Strait, west of King William's Island, which is known to be blocked by the ice poured out from the broad McClintock Channel. If, then, he came through that

channel, even if he could have struggled out of the ice at its mouth, he would only have done so as a last act of self-preservation, and would have sought to press on where it is now certain that his ships must be beset. If he came through Peel Sound, even with open water along the shore of Boothia, he would have been led, with equally fatal results, to press into the pack of the western strait. With Rae's or McClintock's knowledge of the safe channel, sheltered from the polar ice by King William's Island, he would have borne to the east, and might have appeared in the Pacific, in the fall of 1847, his expedition safe and his success complete. It is some satisfaction, however, to reflect, that he must have known before his death that he had found the key to the great problem, to which, we may add, nothing but a belt of ice four miles wide at the western end of Bellot Strait prevented McClintock from adding a practical solution.

The comparison of the Arctic charts of 1845 and 1860, suggested at the beginning of this article, show in a most interesting manner the rich harvest of discovery which has rewarded the brave struggle for the relief of the Franklin expedition. The great northeastern Arctic archipelago has now been explored in almost every direction; it has even been provisioned for future navigators; northwest passages have been found again and again, and Franklin's own priority of discovery ascertained and fully established; even the northern coast of Greenland has been visited, Smith's Sound has been examined well up towards the eighty-third parallel, and the great open sea visited by Morton. Even the method of travel in these regions has undergone an essential change; it has been found that, by means of sledge travelling, the season when ships are still frozen in their winter quarters may be made the most useful in the year, and the English have thus arrived, by dint of hard experience, at the point of knowledge which the Russians attained generations ago, when, being foiled in their northeastern search by ships, they were forced to complete the survey of the northern coast of Asia by sledges.

We are spared the inquiry whether the advantages to the cause of science are such as to compensate the exposure of life which all Arctic research involves. The noble purpose of the

last twelve years' work justifies it to the severest code of Christian morals and to the most refined casuistry. Whether the objects now to be gained, the solution of the problem of an open polar sea and the completion of Kane's discoveries, are of such value as to justify the hazard of undertaking this achievement, is a question upon which we cannot enter, further than to notice the fact that the general opinion of scientific authorities favors the enterprise. It now seems probable that the attempt to effect these objects, and to penetrate towards the Pole itself, will be made during the coming season by Dr. Isaac I. Hayes, leader of what McClintock terms "the party of deserters from Dr. Kane," — an epithet which he applies after hearing the account of Petersen, the interpreter, who accompanied Hayes, which accords with the general judgment of those who read Kane's considerate and reserved account of the facts, and which even Dr. Hayes's own adroit management of the story cannot lead us to believe quite undeserved. It is right, perhaps, that Dr. Hayes should have an opportunity to remove the cloud which has so long rested upon him in consequence of this affair; but still we can hardly help feeling that the expedition might start under more favorable auspices for its energetic and persistent prosecution. We will hope, however, that it may justify the anticipation of its friends and promoters; that none of Dr. Hayes's subordinates may think themselves justified in abandoning him; that it may not be necessary for him ever again to drug with opium the unhappy natives of those regions; and that he may adopt, this time, the motto which the gallant McClintock bore upon the flag of his sledge in 1851, — with a prophetic significance of which he at that time could not know the full import, — "Persevere to the end!"

## ART. VI. — DARWIN'S ORIGIN OF SPECIES.

*On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection, or the Preservation of Favored Races in the Struggle for Life.* By CHARLES DARWIN, M. A., Fellow of the Royal, Geological, Linnæan, etc. Societies; Author of "Journal of Researches during H. M. S. Beagle's Voyage Round the World." London: John Murray. 1859. 12mo. pp. 502. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1860.

THE work of this eminent naturalist has attracted very general attention, both in England and in this country. It has been read with deep interest, not by men of science alone, but by all thinkers and reasoners. Nor is this to be wondered at. The author is well known as an able and careful observer. His book is the result of twenty years of patient and constant labor, and the facts, assiduously collected, are given in an attractive form, and in a spirit of unusual candor.

Had the theory which is advanced, however, been confined to an inquiry into the origin of species, we doubt whether it would have made this sensation beyond the circle of professional readers. But it adopts, or at least suggests, views on the modes of action of the Creator, and on the ways of Providence, that are repugnant to the most cherished feelings and hopes of man. We would not willingly do injustice to Mr. Darwin, or misinterpret in any, even the slightest degree, the tendency of opinions so sincerely and earnestly advocated. We shall scrupulously set forth his own words, and endeavor to draw from them no conclusions to which they do not inevitably lead.

The theory may briefly be stated thus. All organized beings "naturally increase at so high a rate, that, if not destroyed, the earth would soon be covered with the progeny of a single pair." This tendency to geometrical increase must be checked by destruction, at some period of life. From whatever cause this destruction may proceed, whether from a scarcity of food, producing competition, or from the attacks of natural enemies, there will be a great struggle for existence. Whenever any variety is accidentally furnished with better means of coming off victor in this struggle, or is, as Mr. Darwin calls it, more

avored, it will have the better chance of surviving, and of reproducing its kind. Its offspring will, by the law of transmission, inherit the same advantages; and among them, or among their descendants, some one will have them in even a more eminent degree. This individual will now enjoy the same relative superiority over its fellows as their common progenitor had enjoyed, and will, in like manner, supplant them also. This process will continue by *natural selection* until the original type is so transmuted, that it is no longer to be recognized as the same, but is regarded as a distinct species.

We shall revert to the consequences flowing from this theory, — consequences, indeed, from which Mr. Darwin does not shrink. At present, we will look at the logical basis on which it rests, with one preliminary remark. The facts adduced have not, for the most part, been controverted. The question, therefore, is taken from the exclusive domain of physical science, and may, without presumption, be discussed by any one qualified to reason from admitted premises, to a conclusion. Other views, also, may be valuable besides those of science. This question has its metaphysical and even its theological aspects. One advantage, even, the unscientific reviewer possesses. He is pledged to no pre-announced conclusions, and can study a new opinion with acknowledged impartiality.

Examined in this view, the argument is this:—1st. The intervention of man has produced, by careful and repeated selection, remarkable changes in domestic animals, and in cultivated plants; 2d. Nature constantly produces varieties; therefore, 3d. Nature, commanding indefinite periods of time, may bring about much greater changes than man can possibly do, and so much improve and extend any accidental peculiarities, favorable to the individual possessing them, in the great struggle for life, as, by slow degrees, to alter its specific and even its higher relations.

To this reasoning we should object, in the first place, that when man undertakes to modify animals or plants in order to adapt them to his wants, he carefully selects for breed such individuals as possess the qualities that he wishes to foster, and studiously, during repeated generations, prevents the approach of all others. The more valuable the race, the more

anxiously does he guard it against any accidental corruption. Now Nature has no such means of exclusion. A perpetual crossing and intermingling goes on. Abnormal differences of form promptly disappear, and the original type of the species is preserved. It is singular that, throughout this book, a gradual divergence from this type is taken for granted; but not one instance is produced of a variety having given birth to a new variety, more remote from the primitive pattern. Yet on this assumption the whole theory rests; if it is unfounded, the entire logical basis is undermined.

In the second place, the changes produced by human agency are confined within *specific* limits; that is to say, they consist in the development of certain observed tendencies, and the repression of others; these tendencies, therefore, are not something added to the species, or subtracted from it, but were already there existing. There is no approach towards *generic* changes. The most improved Southdown ram or Ayrshire bull is but a ram or a bull after all. We are aware, that in a single instance, that of the various breeds of domestic pigeons, Mr. Darwin attempts to show that man has succeeded in effecting changes of a higher order.

"Altogether, at least a score of pigeons might be chosen, which, if shown to an ornithologist, and he were told that they were wild birds, would certainly, I think, be ranked by him as well-defined species. Moreover, I do not believe that any ornithologist would place the English carrier, the short-faced tumbler, the runt, the barb, pouter, and fan-tail in the same genus." — p. 27.

That his indefatigable industry could point to this one instance only of changes apparently generic, is in itself suspicious; we involuntarily ask whether it is quite certain that these birds, now so distinct, really spring from one common stock. On close scrutiny, it will be found that this belief rests on very slender evidence. The common rock-pigeon of the present day is designated as the wild representative of all the domesticated pigeons. As these birds have been favorites, by Mr. Darwin's own showing, about five thousand years, that is, since at least three thousand years B. C., any account of their parentage must be very apocryphal. Indeed, he does

not pretend to know anything about it; he only infers their origin from internal evidence, and from arguments such as these: that there are no wild rock-pigeons now extant resembling them (that there should be, after so long a lapse of time, we suppose was scarcely to have been expected); that in no climate do they revert to the feral state, — which, if it prove anything, proves too much, namely, that they are not natives of any climate; and lastly, that, when crossed, the hybrid offspring are apt to assume the plumage of the rock-pigeon.

“When two birds belonging to two distinct breeds are crossed, neither of which is blue, or has any of the above specified marks, the mongrel offspring are very apt suddenly to acquire these characters; for instance, I crossed some uniformly white fantails with some uniformly black barbs, and they produced mottled brown and black birds; these I again crossed together, and one grandchild of the pure white fantail and pure black barb was of as beautiful a blue color, with the white rump, double black wing bar, and barred and white-edged tail-feathers, as any wild rock-pigeon. We can understand these facts [*qu.* this fact?] on the well-known principle of reversion to ancestral characters, if all the domestic breeds have descended from the rock-pigeon.” — pp. 29, 30.

If this were all conceded, it would not, surely, prove the descent of both the parents. A man may have a son resembling his own father, without the surmise arising that his wife is his own sister. But, after all, only one authentic case is adduced; and Mr. Darwin may be reminded that one pigeon no more proves a theory, than one swallow makes a summer.

If, then, there is no sufficient reason to believe that man can do anything more than to foster and develop existing and apparent tendencies, it cannot be inferred, by analogy, that Nature possesses the powers here claimed for her, so transcendent not merely in amount, but in kind. We say in kind; for it must not be forgotten, that we are so ignorant of the internal mysteries of organization, that we have no right to assume that genera are not distinguished from species, by differences incommensurable with those that separate one species from another.

In the third place, as this reasoning rests entirely on the

second proposition, namely, that Nature constantly produces varieties, we have a right to demand that the author should be held to strict proof of this. For it is evident that, if Nature never, or very rarely, produces varieties, no hypothesis of the gradual evolution of the complex system of organized forms out of such varieties could be even suggested. Now, it is not our intention to take upon ourselves the burden of proving the negative, but simply to suggest some reasons why we should be slow to admit as established what we are free to allow has been taken for granted by nearly all, if not by all, naturalists. This general consent is entitled to great weight. We think, notwithstanding, that it may be readily explained.

And first, as to the animal kingdom. The existence of varieties among animals is strenuously denied by the highest authority in zoölogy in this, or perhaps in any country. We gladly resign to him the task of defending his position. It should be observed, however, (and this remark applies equally to both kingdoms,) that it is not denied that discrepancies exist between individuals strictly confined within specific limits. Thus among men, one is tall, another short; one dark, another light; and, in general, there are sufficient differences to make it easy to discriminate between them. In like manner, no two leaves on the same tree present, it is said, an absolutely identical contour. But this is not what is meant by "varieties." Such a departure is meant from the normal form, as cannot fairly be included within the limits of ordinary difference, and is not due to hybridization. In practice, naturalists will not agree whether a particular specimen is or is not a variety. This is only owing to fallible judgment; the idea itself is clearly enough apprehended.

We may the more readily confine ourselves to the vegetable kingdom, because Mr. Darwin's instances of variation are drawn from it almost, if not quite exclusively. This is the more noteworthy, because the application, on the other hand, is almost equally exclusively to the animal kingdom; an application the more questionable, from the marked distinction which the presence or absence of an immaterial, or thinking, principle creates between these two great divisions of the organized creation.

It is well known, and is an elementary fact in Botany, that some genera have the organs of reproduction of both sexes in one flower, others in different flowers on the same plant, and again others have them in different plants. So long as it was taken for granted that the first, called hermaphrodite plants, were independent in their action, and in all instances self-fertilized, every departure from the usual form was necessarily a variation. But if it should appear that this is not so, but that in innumerable instances, if not generally, fertilization takes place from a different plant, either of the same or of some allied species, this necessity no longer exists, and it becomes a fair subject of inquiry whether these so-called varieties are not simply cases of hybridism. That their forms should be, in various degrees, intermediate between different species, is only analogous to our daily experience in the case of mongrel animals, where in the same litter we see one of the offspring resembling one parent, one the other, while the rest have types intermediate between the two. The question then recurs, Is there evidence that, in hermaphrodite plants, fertilization often takes place between plants of allied species? We may let Mr. Darwin answer this question:—

“I am strongly inclined to believe that with all hermaphrodites two individuals, either occasionally or habitually, concur for the reproduction of their kind.”—p. 90.

“These facts incline me to believe that it is a general law of nature (utterly ignorant though we be of the meaning of the law) that no organic being self-fertilizes itself for an eternity of generations; but that a cross with another individual is occasionally—perhaps at very long intervals—indispensable.”—p. 91.

He shows us also how this takes place through the instrumentality of insects:—

“It is scarcely possible that bees should fly from flower to flower, and not carry pollen from one to the other, to the great good, as I believe, of the plant. Bees will act like a camel-hair pencil, and it is quite sufficient just to touch the anther of one flower and then the stigma of another with the same brush to insure fertilization.”—p. 92.

It is therefore established that hybridization may take place much more frequently than it has been heretofore suspected,

even among hermaphrodite plants, — nay, more, there are cases in which self-fertilization is impossible.

“In many cases, far from there being any aids for self-fertilization, there are special contrivances, as I could show from the writings of C. C. Sprengel and from my own observations, which effectually prevent the stigma receiving pollen from its own flower; for instance, in *Lobelia fulgens*, there is a really beautiful and elaborate contrivance, by which every one of the infinitely numerous pollen-granules are swept out of the conjoined anthers of each flower, before the stigma of that individual flower is ready to receive them; and as this flower is never visited, at least in my garden, by insects, it never sets a seed, though by placing pollen from one flower on the stigma of another, I raised plenty of seedlings; and whilst another species of *Lobelia* growing close by, which is visited by bees, seeds freely. In very many other cases, though there be no special mechanical contrivance to prevent the stigma of a flower receiving its own pollen, yet, as C. C. Sprengel has shown, and as I can confirm, either the anthers burst before the stigma is ready for fertilization, or the stigma is ready before the pollen of that flower is ready, so that these plants have in fact separated sexes, and must habitually be crossed. How strange are these facts! How strange that the pollen and stigmatic surface of the same flower, though placed so close together, as if for the very purpose of self-fertilization, should in so many cases be mutually useless to each other! How simply are these facts explained, on the view of an occasional cross with a distinct individual being advantageous or indispensable.” — pp. 92, 93.

“Many of our orchidaceous plants absolutely require the visits of moths, to remove their pollen-masses, and thus to fertilize them. I have, also, reason to believe that humble-bees are indispensable to the fertilization of the heart's-ease (*Viola tricolor*), for other bees do not visit this flower.” — p. 71.

We are aware that we subject ourselves to a charge of scientific heresy in advancing even a doubt of the existence of varieties, properly so called, in the vegetable kingdom; but as we have incurred, or at least deserved, excommunication already, we will venture a step further. If Nature, in particular instances, takes such pains to prevent self-fertilization, may not the contrary be the rule instead of the exception? Mr. Darwin says: —

“So necessary are the visits of bees to papilionaceous flowers, that I

have found, by experiments published elsewhere, that their fertility is greatly diminished if these visits be prevented." — pp. 91, 92.

Exactly the result in marriages, where the parties are too near akin in blood ! Many hitherto anomalous facts would be explained by such an hypothesis as we have here ventured to suggest ; such as the extreme difficulty experienced by gardeners in procuring fruit from isolated plants which yet flower freely. It would also explain what has been much insisted on to prove varieties, — namely, the abnormal forms that show themselves in plants from distant localities, cultivated in our botanic gardens, and thus secluded from the vicinity of all their congeners. Such forms would only confirm the well-known fact, that "interbreeding diminishes vigor and fertility."

Before leaving this subject, we will just advert to a very curious illustration, by Mr. Darwin, of the mutual action of plants and animals on each other : —

"From experiments which I have tried, I have found that the visits of bees, if not indispensable, are at least highly beneficial to the fertilization of our clovers ; but humble-bees alone visit the common red clover (*Trifolium pratense*), as other bees cannot reach the nectar. Hence I have very little doubt, that if the whole genus of humble-bees became extinct or very rare in England, the heart's-ease and red clover would become very rare, or wholly disappear. The number of humble-bees in any district depends in a great degree on the number of field-mice, which destroy their combs and nests ; and Mr. R. Newman, who has long attended to the habits of humble-bees, believes that 'more than two thirds of them are thus destroyed over all England.' Now the number of mice is largely dependent, as every one knows, on the number of cats ; and Mr. Newman says, 'Near villages and small towns I have found the nests of humble-bees more numerous than elsewhere, which I attribute to the number of cats that destroy the mice.' Hence it is quite credible that the presence of a feline animal in large numbers in a district might determine, through the intervention first of mice, and then of bees, the frequency of certain flowers in that district !" — pp. 71, 72.

The author might have carried this chain of causes one step further, and said that the number of cats is largely dependent, as every one knows, on the number of old maids. Confirmation would thus be given to the pretension often advanced by themselves, that old maids live in clover !

In the fourth place, we should demur to the word *accidental* as applied to any object in nature. The very question at issue is prejudged by the use of such a term. We well know that it is often said that chance only means a cause not within our knowledge. And so it sometimes does. If we cast a die, we say that it is a chance which face will turn up. When, however, it is added, that, because God knows it beforehand, what is chance to man is design to God, there is a strange confusion of ideas between God's agency and his foreknowledge. In the matter we are considering, the explanation is certainly irrelevant; for the word is applied, not to anything as judged of by man, but to an act, original or secondary, of creation. That it was so intended is proved by the great care with which Mr. Darwin in many passages eschews — even, we regret to say, sneers at — the idea of any manifestation of design in the material universe: —

“If green woodpeckers alone had existed, and we did not know that there were many black and pied kinds, I dare say that we should have thought that the green color was a beautiful adaptation to hide this tree-frequenting bird from its enemies.” — p. 176.

“If our reason leads us to admire with enthusiasm a multitude of inimitable contrivances in nature, this same reason tells us, though we easily err on both sides, that some contrivances are less perfect. Can we consider the sting of the wasp or of the bee as perfect, which, when used against many attacking animals, cannot be withdrawn, owing to the backward serratures, and so inevitably causes the death of the insect, by tearing out its viscera?” — p. 180.

This is just one of the cases that presents no difficulty to any one who believes that the assailant and the assaulted are alike the objects of God's paternal care, but is quite inexplicable upon the idea of natural selection. Surely, a bee *accidentally* born with a smooth sting would have had the best chance in the struggle for life.

We should in like manner object to the word *favorable*, as implying that some species are placed by the Creator under *unfavorable* circumstances, at least under such as might be advantageously modified; but to this idea we shall have occasion to revert in another connection.

We have hitherto confined ourselves, mainly, to a considera-

tion of the theory announced on the title-page,—the gradual conversion of varieties into species. As we have already intimated, the author carries it much further. Partly constrained by the laws of “inexorable logic,” and partly led on by a self-excited zeal on a theme which he had made the study of his life, he follows out his reasoning to its extreme consequences. This he does in spite of very grave warnings encountered in his own investigations. He says himself: “It may be asked how far I extend the doctrine of the modification of species. The question is difficult to answer, because the more distinct the forms are which we may consider, by so much the arguments fall away in force.” (p. 418.)

Now this is the very touchstone of truth. A very slight deviation from a straight line becomes more and more appreciable the more distant the point of comparison. It is not so viewed by Mr. Darwin; and we hope to be excused if we say that we deem his case as really a psychological curiosity. The farther he advances, the more, step by step, the ground falls away under him; yet no suspicion is awakened in his mind that he is building his house upon the sand.

We will now consider the more extended theory, namely, that as varieties by a process of natural selection become developed into species, in like manner species become genera, genera orders, and so on, until at last the whole of organic life can be traced back to a single pair, or, at most, a few pairs of original progenitors. That we have not overstated the author's theory, we shall presently prove.

One objection meets us at the threshold. It is not easy to imagine what enemies the original pair, or their descendants in their own image, could have met with to induce the necessity of this natural selection. In the course of ages, we suppose it will be said, they might people the globe, and then, through competition, the process of improvement might begin. This objection would, no doubt, be made light of by Mr. Darwin, disposing, as he does, of such indefinite periods of time. And here we would make a preliminary protest against the use of so vague a term as *indefinite*, as applied to any topic of scientific investigation, more especially, as in this instance, to time. For what is an indefinite period of time? A million

or a thousand millions of years, though long, are not *indefinite* periods. The indefinite here merges, practically, into the infinite. Now, we know some of the properties of the infinite, such as the summation of infinite series, for example; but the idea of infinity itself eludes the grasp of our intelligence, and we have no right to invoke its aid for the solution of any finite question. The impropriety of such an invocation appears from this, — that with its aid we can prove anything, even an impossibility. The paradoxes which spring from such use of it are familiar, even in the jest-books. Keep the infinitesimal calculus in its place as a mathematical process, and it works the miracles of science, — it even works out the greatest problem of all, and teaches us what things there are which we cannot learn. But the invocation of the idea of infinity in the midst of speculations on finite affairs, only works confusion. Indeed, without such invocation, it would be impossible for Mr. Darwin to explain the gradual development of so curious and exquisite a piece of mechanism as the eye, from a nerve accidentally sensitive to light. He says: —

“How a nerve comes to be sensitive to light hardly concerns us more than how life itself first originated; but I may remark, that several facts make me suspect that any sensitive nerve may be rendered sensitive to light.” — p. 167.

The difficulty is this. In the oldest stratified rocks we find forms, like those of the trilobite, with a well-developed organ of vision; while the gigantic ichthyosaurus had an eye that any modern reptile might envy. It is necessary, then, to resort to times far anterior to the oldest stratified rocks. Of this Mr. Darwin is himself aware.

“We should probably,” he says, “have to descend far beneath the lowest known fossiliferous stratum to discover the earlier stages by which the eye has been perfected.” — p. 168.

These stratified rocks are already reasonably ancient.

“In all probability a far longer period than three hundred million years has elapsed since the latter part of the secondary period.” — p. 252.

This far longer period than three hundred millions of years probably “shrinks into insignificance” compared with the enormous lapse of time since the deposit of the earliest

Silurian rocks. As to the time anterior to these necessary by Mr. Darwin's theory, he leaves us in a pleasant state of doubt, which is not wonderful in one who deals so freely with the infinite, or, as he calls it, the indefinite. He at one time speaks (p. 169) of millions on millions of years; at another he says: "Consequently, if my theory be true, it is indisputable that, before the lowest Silurian stratum was deposited, long periods elapsed, — as long as, or probably far longer than, the whole interval from the Silurian age to the present day." (p. 268.) But in the following passage he claims a time *indefinitely* longer than either.

"The whole history of the world, as at present known, although of a length quite incomprehensible to us, will hereafter be recognized as a mere fragment of time, compared with the ages which have elapsed since the first creature, the progenitor of innumerable extinct and living descendants, was created." — p. 422.

The creation is, certainly, removed back tolerably far; but we have the comfort of learning that the day of judgment is at least equally remote.

"As all the living forms of life are the lineal descendants of those which lived long before the Silurian epoch, we may feel certain that the ordinary succession by generation has never once been broken, and that no cataclysm has desolated the whole world. Hence we may look with some confidence to a secure future of equally unappreciable length." — p. 423.

If geological investigations showed a gradually ascending series of forms, with the simultaneous extinction of the lower ones, there might be some plausibility in this hypothesis, — though even then it would be difficult to explain the absence, in each and every case, of all the intermediate forms in the great record. But forms of the lowest type are as numerous now as ever. The lingula, one of the earliest shell-fish, lives at the present day in perfect harmony with the clam, which ought, on all principles of natural selection, to have superseded it. And what good, after all, is secured to any class of beings by this supposed gradual metamorphosis? As fast as any species improves, its rivals and its enemies are also improving. While nature avails itself of an *accidentally* harder proboscis

to enable the insect, now become a borer, to lay its eggs within the bark of a tree, secure from the attacks of its enemy, the insectivorous bird, that bird has been obtaining claws, to enable it to climb, and a beak, to enable it to pierce the same bark ; and now, as a woodpecker, it makes precisely the same havoc among the young larvæ as it did before. After all the painful and prolonged efforts of nature, through "millions on millions" of years, the relative numbers stand exactly where they would have done had no such heroic efforts been made.

Another serious objection to this theory is, that it may legitimately be extended much farther than its author, unless it be in his final summing up, has attempted. For why stop at the limits of human vision ? Why ignore the claims of the microscopic infusoria, hundreds of which may nestle on the point of a needle ? Nay, after the microscope shall have reached its utmost perfection, there will be myriads of created organisms, beyond its reach, to contend for the honor of being the living representatives of our first ancestors.

If the results of a minute analysis of this theory in the merely physical view are so unsatisfactory, how much more serious are the objections against the evidently forced and painful attempt to trace the development of mind ! So infinitely superior is reason to instinct, and so apparently incommensurable are their natures, that we have a fair right to demand explicit proof of their original identity. This is the more reasonable, because the recent introduction of man upon the globe would justify us in expecting to find geological evidence of the former existence of numerous forms intermediate between him and the anthropoid apes. No such evidence has ever, that we know of, been alleged. There is, however, an inherent impossibility in the simultaneous development of mind and body, that seems to us absolutely conclusive. For as all deviations from a specific type are, by this theory, accidental in the first instance, though afterwards taken advantage of by nature, the chances that such a deviation should occur in any organ, and at the same moment in the instinct by which the animal would make use of it, would, in any single instance, be exceedingly small. When, then, we fancy that a rise in the scale of being from a mollusk to a man presup-

poses an almost infinite series of such coincidences, it is not too much to say that the difficulty rises to a mathematical impossibility. Without such a simultaneous development, however, the animal could not survive. Suppose, for instance, the gills converted into lungs, while instinct still compelled a continuance under water, would not drowning ensue? Or if a quadruped, not yet furnished with wings, were suddenly inspired with the instinct of a bird, and precipitated itself from a cliff, would not the descent be hazardously rapid?

If we should concede to Mr. Darwin, what we should not do except for argument, that any such gradual transformations really take place, still it could not, on any principles of just reasoning, be denied that they must be ascribed to the intervention of some power superior in intelligence and wisdom to mere chance. This leads us to some considerations derived from natural theology, — considerations not irrelevant to this discussion, because whatever relates to the mind of man, irrespective of revelation, is within the domain of science.

We said, in the beginning of this article, that the reason of the deep interest which this book had awakened, both in England and in this country, was, that it adopts, or at least suggests, views on the modes of action of the Creator, and on the ways of Providence, that are repugnant to the most cherished feelings and hopes of man. We have also promised to prove that we have rather understated than exaggerated the opinions of the author. We proceed to justify the assertion, and to redeem the pledge.

"Nothing at first can appear more difficult to believe, than that the more complex organs and instincts should have been perfected, not by means superior to, though analogous with, human reason, but by the accumulation of innumerable slight variations, each good for the individual possessor." — p. 398.

This, we take it, is neither more nor less than a formal denial of any agency beyond that of a blind chance in the development or perfecting of the organs or instincts of created beings. True, a first cause is admitted; but it is with that sort of protest which is suggested where its agency is studiously limited to the least imaginable amount of intervention. The exist-

ence of a sustaining Providence, if not denied in terms, is at least constantly ignored. It is in vain that the apologists of this hypothesis might say that it merely attributes a different mode and time to the Divine agency, — that all the qualities subsequently appearing in their descendants must have been implanted, and remained latent, in the original pair. Such might be a refuge to which devout minds would be reluctantly driven, were they constrained by irrefragable proof, which happily they are not, to admit such a cosmogony; but it is nowhere so stated in this book, and would be, we are sure, disclaimed by the author.

The conclusions at which he arrives are thus stated by himself: —

“I believe that animals have descended from, at most, only four or five progenitors, and plants from an equal or lesser number.” — p. 419.

Mortifying enough to be descended from an oyster; but Mr. Darwin is rather of the opinion that we must rest satisfied with a lichen.

“Analogy would lead me one step further, namely, to the belief that all animals and plants have descended from some one prototype. But analogy may be a deceitful guide. Nevertheless, all living things have much in common in their chemical composition, their germinal vesicles, their cellular structure, and their laws of growth and reproduction. We see this even in so trifling a circumstance as that the same poison often similarly affects plants and animals; or that the poison secreted by the gall-fly produces monstrous growths on the wild rose or oak-tree. Therefore I should infer by analogy that probably all the organic beings which have ever lived on this earth have descended from some one primordial form, into which life was first breathed.” — p. 419.

Be this as it may, we were all, certainly, once fishes.

“I can, indeed, hardly doubt that all vertebrate animals having true lungs have descended by ordinary generation from an ancient prototype, of which we know nothing, furnished with a floating apparatus or swim-bladder.” — p. 171.

This genealogy he considers to be an ennobling one.

“When I view all beings, not as special creations, but as the lineal descendants of some few beings which lived long before the first bed of the Silurian system was deposited, they seem to me to become ennobled.” — p. 423.

He is, moreover, so well satisfied with his own views, as

fondly to anticipate that they will give rise to a new system of metaphysics.

"In the distant future, I see open fields for far more important researches. Psychology will be based on a new foundation, that of the necessary acquirement of each mental power and capacity by gradation. Light will be thrown on the origin of man and his history." — p. 423.

"Thus he reaches at last this jubilant conclusion : —

"Thus, from the war of nature, from famine and death, the most exalted object which we are capable of conceiving, namely, the production of the higher animals, directly follows. There is a grandeur in this view of life, with its several powers, having been originally breathed into a few forms, or into one ; and that, while this planet has gone cycling on according to the fixed laws of gravity, from so simple a beginning endless forms most beautiful and most wonderful have been and are being evolved." — p. 424.

Such are the views propounded by Mr. Darwin. Without intending to charge him with approaching the subject with any sceptical intentions, we cannot but regret and distrust them. Who indeed are we, to dare, in the imperfection of our knowledge, to assign the bounds, or explain the modes of action, of the great First Cause? The fact of life it is given to us to know, — to compare the forms of its manifestations, — and to explain, in a limited degree, the laws by which He governs it ; but the deep mystery of life itself is, for wise purposes, to us inscrutable.

For our own part, it seems to us at once more reverent, and more consonant to the feelings implanted in our nature, to believe in an ever-acting Providence, — to believe that not a sparrow falls to the ground without the Father, — to believe that all the adaptations so admirably fitted to the need or the gratification of His creatures are the direct act of the Creator. At the risk of incurring the sneer of Mr. Darwin by seeming "no more startled at a miraculous act of creation than at an ordinary birth," we confess ourselves to be as unable to explain the one as the other. As to miracles, they have never presented to our mind any metaphysical difficulty. The Power that could enact and sustain, must, in our apprehension, of necessity be equally able to suspend or alter, the laws of nature.

## ART. VII.—REVIEW OF CURRENT LITERATURE.

## THEOLOGY.

THE readers of the Examiner — those particularly who are familiar with its earlier as well as later volumes — will not find themselves entire strangers to the work of Dr. Lamson,\* though it contains much that is new. They will welcome it with feelings somewhat like those with which we greet an old and valued friend, whom we had not seen for some years, but who has just returned from a foreign tour, hale and vigorous, retaining all the characteristics which originally won our esteem, and ready to instruct and delight us by fresh information respecting the regions through which he has travelled. The larger part of the present volume consists of articles relating to early Christian antiquity, which were contributed by Dr. Lamson to the pages of this review from time to time for a long series of years, the first (on Justin Martyr) appearing in the number for November, 1829. Those articles gave their author a deserved reputation for thorough acquaintance with the subjects of which they treat, and the wish has often been expressed that they might be collected into a volume. We have them here re-wrought, and enlarged by a considerable amount of matter relating chiefly to the topic in which recent discussions seem to have revived an interest, namely, the origin and development of the doctrine of the Trinity. The following are the leading subjects treated of in the work, each under various subdivisions: — Justin Martyr, and his Opinions, pp. 1–68; — Clement of Alexandria and his Times, pp. 69–116; — Origen, and his Theology, pp. 117–178; — Arius, and the Arian Controversy, pp. 179–231; — Eusebius the Historian, pp. 232–256; — The Apostles' Creed, and the Apostolical Constitutions, pp. 285–302; — Artistic Representations of the Trinity, pp. 303–319; — and Festivals of the Ancient Christians, with which the volume concludes.

At the beginning of the article on Justin, Dr. Lamson alludes to the writings of the so-called "Apostolic Fathers," namely, Barnabas, Clement of Rome, Hermas, Ignatius, and Polycarp, "whose compositions," he says, "if any portions of them remain which are entitled to be pronounced genuine, have come down to us so disfigured by interpolations, or mixed up with palpable forgeries, that they cannot be safely quoted for any purpose of history or doctrine." This sentence of condemnation appears to us rather too indiscriminate. It is certainly correct as regards the Epistles ascribed to Ignatius, and what has been styled the Second Epistle of Clement of Rome; but the other writings referred to stand on a different footing. The so-called Epistle of Barnabas is indeed rejected by the best critics as not the production of Barnabas

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\* The Church of the First Three Centuries; or, Notices of the Lives and Opinions of some of the Early Fathers, with special reference to the Doctrine of the Trinity; illustrating its Late Origin and Gradual Formation. By ALVAN LAMSON, D. D. Boston: Walker, Wise, & Co. 1860. 8vo.

the companion of St. Paul, which it does not even profess to be, but it was certainly written before the close, perhaps before the middle, of the second century; the "Shepherd" of Hermas is of at least equal antiquity; while there really seems to be no good reason for doubting that the "First" Epistle of Clement of Rome to the Church at Corinth, and the brief Letter of Polycarp to the Philippians, though we possess them only in a mutilated form, are substantially genuine. The external evidence for the former is certainly very strong; and we know of no internal considerations which weaken its force. They both bear the stamp of an almost apostolic simplicity, forming a striking contrast, in this respect, with the spurious productions which have been associated with them. At any rate, as all these writings, with the exceptions first mentioned, clearly belong to a period not later than the second century, it would have been proper, we think, for Dr. Lamson to have noticed a little more particularly their doctrinal bearing on the subject of the Trinity. He indeed observes (p. 266), that, whatever may be their origin or date, "they are not witnesses for the Trinity, but the reverse." This fact it might have been well to illustrate. Similar remarks may be made respecting some other early writings, particularly the Epistle to Diognetus, which Dr. Lamson (p. 13, note) regards as "of undoubted antiquity, and of great value as presenting a vivid picture of Christian life at the period at which it was written," but passes over its Christology.

A special reason for noticing these productions is the careless and misleading statements which we too often find concerning them in orthodox writers. We may take as a specimen the account given of their doctrine in Professor Henry B. Smith's very useful and convenient "History of the Church of Christ in Chronological Tables," recently published, which we can heartily commend in many respects, but not for freedom from dogmatic bias. According to him, "Clement says, we ought so to think of Jesus Christ as of God; Ignatius speaks of Jesus Christ our God; the Epistle to Diognetus says that Christ is the Creator of all things; Clement also speaks of the passion of God." Farther on, he says, that "Ignatius speaks of one physician, fleshly and spiritual, begotten and also unbegotten; God incarnate," &c. Professor Smith does *not* tell us, that his first quotation is from the so-called "*Second* Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians," which he himself (p. 10, f.), in accordance with the almost universal judgment of competent scholars, pronounces "*spurious*," and of the existence of which before the fourth century we have no proof; and that in the Syriac version of Ignatius, one of the two passages (Ep. ad Ephes., cc. 1, 7) which he quotes is wholly omitted, and the other so reads as to nullify his argument. He does not observe that the Epistle to Diognetus in the passage referred to (c. 7), though calling the Logos "the artificer and framer" or "demiurge" of the universe, expressly represents him as only the instrument "*by* whom the almighty and all-creating and invisible God created the heavens," &c., in accordance with the uniform doctrine of the ante-Nicene Fathers.

Nor does Clement anywhere use the expression "the passion of God,"

or anything like it. The passage referred to is c. 2 of his genuine Epistle to the Corinthians, where we have the expression *παθήματα αὐτοῦ*, —*τοῦ θεοῦ* indeed being the nearest antecedent. If we insist that he wrote with strict grammatical accuracy, and reject the conjectural emendation of Junius (Young), a Trinitarian, of *μαθήματα* for *παθήματα*, (the Epistle being extant in but a single manuscript,) we simply make Clement a Patripassian; for the term *θεός* in every other passage of the Epistle unquestionably denotes the Father. But even Dörner in his great work (*Lehre von der Person Christi*, I. 139) says that he "does not venture to use this passage as a proof that Clement calls Christ God." He adopts the easy supposition of a negligent use of the pronoun *αὐτός*, referring to Christ in the mind of the writer, though not named in the immediately preceding context. The same view of the passage is taken by Bunsen, *Hippolytus and his Age*, I. 46, note, 2d ed.; by Martini, *Versuch*, etc., p. 24, note; and by Reuss, *Théologie Chrétienne*, II. 326, 2<sup>e</sup> éd. Of this use of *αὐτός* we have another remarkable example in Clement, c. 36, and it is not uncommon in the New Testament, especially in the writings of John; see Winer, *Gram.* § 22. 3. 4, 6th ed., and Robinson's N. T. Lex., article *αὐτός*, 2. b. *ad fin.* This passage is the sole straw to which those clinging who maintain that Clement of Rome believed in the deity of Christ; a notion in direct contradiction to the whole tenor of his language in every other part of his Epistle.

But to return to Dr. Lamson. The account of Justin Martyr and his opinions occupies seven chapters, the subjects of which we will briefly notice. The first relates chiefly to his life. The second and third contain a critical examination of his writings, particularly his Apologies, or defences of Christianity, which are highly interesting, not as elegant literary compositions, but from the light they throw on the character and circumstances of the early Christians. Justin's intellectual defects, his want of judgment as a critic and expositor, his looseness of reasoning and inaccuracy in quotation, Dr. Lamson makes no attempt to conceal. He gives curious specimens of his allegorizing extravagances in the interpretation of Scripture, — extravagances in which others of the Fathers of far superior minds, as Clement of Alexandria and Origen, indulged to even greater excess. He does not forget, however, as many seem to have done, that, in judging of the intellectual ability of the early Christian writers, we must not regard as characteristic of individuals mistakes and follies which belonged to the prevailing philosophy of the age. The fourth and fifth chapters treat of Justin's doctrine of the Logos, and of the origin of the doctrine of the Trinity, which is clearly traced to the later Platonic philosophy, particularly as expounded in the writings of Philo. In the sixth chapter, after referring to the concessions of some of the most learned Trinitarian scholars, as Cudworth, Brucker, Petavius, and Huet, that "the inferiority of the Son was generally, if not uniformly, asserted by the ante-Nicene Fathers," Dr. Lamson proves, by numerous and decisive quotations, that this was the doctrine of Justin. In respect to the Spirit, he maintains that "Justin evidently regarded it as

a divine influence, or mode of operation, in the Deity." (p. 59.) He says, however: "We are well aware of the difficulty of ascertaining precisely what Justin's notions of the Spirit were. His expressions, taken literally, sometimes conflict with each other." We incline to believe that the true solution of the difficulty is the fact that Justin's notions were unsettled, and not clear to himself. We know that the early Christian Fathers, like Philo before them, wavered between the conception of the Logos as an attribute and as a person; and that they often, as Dr. Lamson remarks (pp. 59, 60, note, and p. 81), confounded the Spirit with the Logos, and the Wisdom of God with both. When, therefore, they converted one of these into a proper person, nothing was more natural than that they should hypostatize the other, without, however, permanently and consistently retaining this notion, so opposed to the general tenor of Scripture. Consistency, indeed, is the last thing to be expected in speculations of this sort, founded on a metaphysical absurdity. With deference to Dr. Lamson, therefore, we are disposed to agree with those who believe that Justin, in the two famous passages quoted in pp. 57, 58 (Apol. I. cc. 6, 13), conceived of the Spirit as a person, holding, as he says, "the third rank" in relation to the Father and the Son, the angels being also associated with them as objects of a certain degree of religious reverence. His notion of the gradation between the Father, the Son, the Spirit, and the angels, may have been something like that of Eusebius, who illustrates it (Præp. Ev., Lib. vii. c. 14) by comparing the Father to "the all-embracing heaven," the Logos to the sun, the Spirit to the moon, and the angels to the stars.

In the seventh chapter, Dr. Lamson gives an account of the interesting facts preserved by Justin respecting the rites of Baptism and the Lord's Supper as administered in his day, and the Sunday worship of Christians.

Our space will not permit us to describe with any minuteness the remaining contents of the volume. In the article on Clement of Alexandria and his Times, the writings of the Christian apologists who immediately succeeded Justin, namely, Tatian, Theophilus of Antioch, and Athenagoras, and also those of Irenæus and Tertullian, are brought under review, and the evidence of their belief in the inferiority of the Son is forcibly presented. It is shown that they, as well as Justin, knew nothing of the doctrine of eternal generation, but regarded the Son as begotten by an act of the Father's will, just before the creation of the world, to be his instrument in the work. Clement's belief in the inferiority of the Son is also established by decisive quotations.

The chapters on Origen and his theology are, as might be supposed, of great interest, but we can only allude to them. He is a most important witness in proof that nothing like the modern doctrine of the Trinity was received by the Christian Church in his time; though some of his speculations undoubtedly contributed to prepare the way for it. In connection with Origen, Dr. Lamson treats of the recently discovered work, first published (in 1851) as his *Philosophumena*, but

now generally regarded as the production of Hippolytus. He shows that this is altogether opposed to the Athanasian doctrine.

In the article on Arius and the Arian controversy, Dr. Lamson illustrates by quotations the opinions of the Fathers who flourished between the time of Origen and that period, noticing particularly Gregory Thaumaturgus, Dionysius of Alexandria, Cyprian, Theognostus, Pierius, Methodius, and Lactantius. It strikes us, however, as very remarkable, that he does not even mention Novatian, whose book *De Trinitate*, or *De Regula Fidei*, was written probably about A. D. 257, and represents, without any reasonable doubt, the current orthodoxy of the time. Very pertinent and instructive quotations might have been given from this treatise, which teaches in the clearest manner the unrivalled supremacy of the Father, "the One God, to whose greatness, majesty, and power nothing can be compared," and the entire dependence of the Son. There is no approach in it to the Athanasian doctrine of the Trinity. Like Origen and Eusebius, Novatian declares the Spirit or Paraclete "inferior to Christ" (c. 16). The interpolations and alterations of several passages by Gagnæus, the first editor, making Novatian say on these points precisely the opposite of what he wrote, or softening his heterodox language by such insertions as *quadam ratione*, *quodam modo*, *aliquo pacto*, are a curious specimen of "pious fraud." (See Jackson's edition of Novatian, p. 119, note 2, and p. 239, note 5.) But the disease was too deeply seated to be removed by these surgical operations.

In the chapter on the theological opinions of Eusebius we think some citations from his writings might have been advantageously introduced. The utter hopelessness of any attempt to defend his orthodoxy deserves to have been more fully illustrated. The monstrous interpolations and falsifications of the Latin translator of his *Demonstratio Evangelica*, who, as Montfaucon remarks, "*sciens et prudens scriptorem Græcum vitiauit et catholice loqui compulit*," furnish another noteworthy example of pious fraud.

In the second chapter of the article on the Apostles' Creed there are some very just and important remarks on the meaning of certain terms used by the early Fathers, which afterwards acquired a different sense. Inattention to this fact has led to great mistakes.

In the article on Ancient Hymnology we must point out one exception to the scrupulous accuracy of quotation which, so far as we have observed, elsewhere characterizes the work;—a somewhat unfortunate one, as the passage is often cited by our Trinitarian friends, who should have the full benefit of all the support to be derived from it. The anonymous author of a work against the heresy of Artemon, quoted by Eusebius (Lib. V. c. 28), appeals, according to Dr. Lamson (p. 290), to the "Psalms and Hymns of the Brethren, written at the beginning by the faithful," and "setting forth the praises of Christ, the word of life." Here the important word *θεολογούντες* should have been represented in the translation. The passage may be rendered as follows: "The psalms and hymns of the brethren, written by the faithful from the beginning, set forth the praises of Christ, the Word of God, ascrib-

ing divinity to him," τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν Χριστὸν ὕμνουσι θεολογοῦντες. "Divinity," but not supreme divinity. The same writer just before makes a similar appeal to authors whose works have come down to us, as Justin Martyr, Tatian, and Clement. We *know* in what way they "attributed divinity to Christ;" that they represented him as a divine being, but not as *the* Divine Being, the God over all, on whom they everywhere describe him as wholly dependent. The term θεός is often used in the writings of the Fathers, not as a proper, but as a common name, being applied to angels, and even to Christians considered as immortal beings, bearing the divine likeness. Clement calls his true Gnostic, or perfect Christian, ἐν σαρκὶ περιπολῶν θεός, "a God walking in the flesh," and abounds in similar language. (See Bp. Kaye's Clement, p. 253.) To ignore this use of the terms θεός and *deus*, and to quote passages from the early Fathers in which they are applied to Christ as if they proved his proper deity, is to practise a gross imposition on the unlearned reader.\*

We cannot give a better summary of the results of Dr. Lamson's studies in reference to the history of early opinions concerning the Son and the Spirit, than by quoting the following paragraph, with which his volume concludes:—

"After what has been said in the foregoing pages, we are prepared to re-assert, in conclusion, that the modern doctrine of the Trinity is not found in any document or relic belonging to the Church of the first three centuries. Letters, art, usage, theology, worship, creed, hymn, chant, doxology, ascription, commemorative rite and festive observance, so far as any remains, or any record of them are preserved, coming down from early times, are, as regards this doctrine, an absolute blank. They testify, so far as they testify at all, to the supremacy of the Father, the only true God, and to the inferior and derived nature of the Son. There is nowhere among these remains a co-equal Trinity. The cross is there; Christ is there as the good Shepherd, the Father's hand placing a crown, or victor's wreath, on his head; but no undivided Three, — co-equal, infinite, self-existent, and eternal. This was a conception to which the age had not arrived. It was of later origin."

A large part of Dr. Lamson's work, and what to many may prove the most attractive part of its contents, has no direct relation to the subject of the Trinity. We refer to the biographical sketches of the more eminent Fathers, to the accounts of their theological and philosophical speculations, and to the pictures presented of Christian life in the early ages of the Church. This portion of the work seems to us admirably executed, and is of great value. The articles on Clement of Alexandria and his Times, and on Origen and his Theology, are especially interesting and instructive.

The work in general may be characterized as eminently trustworthy. It is not a hasty compilation from second-hand sources of information. The author has carefully studied the writings of the Fathers themselves, and given us the fruits of ripe and accurate scholarship.

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\* In justice to Dr. Lamson it should perhaps be stated, that in the place where this quotation from Eusebius is made, he is speaking with reference to the *writers*, and not to the *doctrinal character* of the ancient hymns.

Dr. Lamson's style is remarkable for clearness and directness, and is frequently enlivened by a peculiar humor which it is difficult to describe, but which makes his remarks on the least promising subjects highly entertaining. He knows what he wants to say, and says it, in vigorous and racy English.

It only remains to add, that the book is very handsomely printed, and in all its externals is highly creditable to the taste of the publishers.

ALONG with any fresh religious movement, and the development of any genuine type of religious thought, there always comes a disposition to search the first Christian records more, and compare the flavor of the new stream with the waters of the original spring. The day for simple, literal, popular commentaries seems to have passed by, with the youth of the generation now come to manhood. We have treatises, essays, manuals of ethical doctrine or theological discussion, in the form of comment on holy writ; and the critical or archæological learning of the last fifty years is put to its proper use, as a base or scaffolding to the higher tasks of religious teaching.

The array of Biblical discussion brought before us in these few months all witnesses to this change. Luther's glorious commentary on "Galatians," in which he fights the good fight of his own day against monkery and priestcraft, under the flag of St. Paul, is brought freshly forward, in its garb of rich and antique English, as part of the supply to the popular demand.\* Robertson's Lectures on the "Corinthians" are a new testimony to the wisdom, devoutness, practical zeal, and Christian temper of their eminent and excellent author. And we have, as the newest illustration of the forms of interpretation prevalent among the "Liberal" party in theology, two treatises curiously unlike in principle and method, though put forth together from sources claiming authority and respect as high as any, as representatives of Unitarian theology.

WE wish that time and space were at our command for an extended examination of Dr. Morison's long looked for and most welcome Commentary on the Gospels;† and we shall not be content until this measure of simple justice has been meted out to it. As a rule, commentaries are not entertaining books; and they are by no means profitable in proportion to their tediousness. Sometimes they are poor paraphrases,—a very little Scripture to a vast deal of water; sometimes they are heaps upon heaps of conflicting interpretations, each negating or at least hopelessly limiting the other, as, for example, in much of the exegetical literature of most patient, most learned, most conscientiously many-sided, but most confusing Germany; often they dwell till one is ready to scream with impatience upon what is perfectly obvious,

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\* A Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians. By MARTIN LUTHER. Philadelphia: Smith, English, & Co.

† Disquisitions and Notes on the Gospels. Matthew. By JOHN H. MORISON. Boston: Walker, Wise, & Co. 1860.

and leave us utterly without help where help is indispensable. Dr. Morison has reason to be thankful that, where so many have failed, he has succeeded, and that, without sacrificing the practical purpose of instruction in the Scriptures, he has made a book which is "good" without being tedious, and which can be read. We see that we have used the word "commentary" without authority from the author's title-page, and must commend the good judgment which has set forth these valuable studies in the Gospel of Matthew as "Disquisitions and Notes,"—disquisitions for continuous perusal, notes for reference,—an admirable arrangement of the contents of the volume. For us, the great charm of the book, even beyond its abundant learning and its simple and beautiful style, is the fulfilment of the law imperative in all exposition, but especially in the exposition of the Scriptures, that the same Spirit which wrote must interpret the words written. Dr. Morison, unlike too many modern critics, does not bring to the interpretation of the Bible the settled conviction that many things which it at least seems to teach are incredible, and that, even though the Scriptures should be broken in the process, these things must by dint of exegesis be explained out of them. His two questions are, What said the Lord? and, What did the Lord mean by so saying?—and these are the only questions which a revering, loyal disciple has any call to ask, not seeking to bring down the great Master to the scanty measures of our human knowledge of divine things, but rather listening with eager docility when He who spake as man never spake before, as man shall never speak again, tells us of heavenly things, or uncovers for us the abysses of sin and fear that stretch out under the feet of the wanderer. It is accordingly a volume which we should be glad to put into the hands of all young persons who desire to add to their faith knowledge; and we believe that even mature thinkers who have shared the confusion of our religious times will be thankful to find, as they follow Dr. Morison, that the Gospel of their childhood has been restored to their hands, and that the "Glory which gilds the sacred page" encloses a real warm Sun as the heart of it, and is something more than a gleaming mist. We wish that we could follow the expositor into the details of his exposition, for continually as we have turned over the pages we have met with remarks which indicate a large acquaintance with the literature of his subject and a true spiritual insight. We confess to an honest pride, that one of a company of Christian scholars who have been charged with dealing very largely in criticism and questioning, should have given to the Church a book which every unprejudiced reader must commend for its well-sustained affirmations, and which will be of great service to sincere students of the New Testament of every name. We are satisfied that many outside of what is known as the Unitarian denomination will thank Dr. Morison for his work of love.

HASE's *Life of Jesus* \* is a complete complement to Dr. Morison's

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\* *Life of Jesus, a Manual for Academic Study.* By DR. CARL HASE, Professor of Theology in the University at Jena. Translated by JAMES FREEMAN CLARKE. Boston: Walker, Wise, & Co. 1860.

book. It is, indeed, a fair enough illustration of the catholicity of American Unitarianism, that these two books should be published at the same time, equally under the auspices of the Unitarian Association. The temper of the book, and the learning of the author, commend it to the careful attention of students, professional or unprofessional. After a century which prided itself on being the century of *analysis*, and fifty-nine years of another century which has thus far principally occupied itself by saying that the last century was a century of analysis, there is a satisfaction in finding a competent student to tell us what is the present state of critical inquiry as to the life of Christ, and how much of the history which every Christian heart holds dear among the treasures of its faith has resisted the agents, counter-agents, solvents, and crucibles of a century and a half's researches.

Strictly speaking, the book is not "The Life of Jesus" any more than Strauss's is, or Neander's, or Dr. Henry Ware's, or Dr. Furness's, or the mythical John Fleetwood's, or any other "Life of Jesus" that ever was written. It would be easy, perhaps, to show that there never can be any "Life of Jesus" which shall hold the same literary place in regard to him that any of the world's biographies hold with regard to any of the world's heroes. Certainly, the four Gospellers have left us no such lives. They have left four fragments, or perhaps four collections of fragments, which do not, except to very shift and predetermined theorists, profess to be biographies. They are simply memoirs of infinitely more value, we venture to say, than if they were systematized by the mould of biographical narrative.

Dr. Hase's book is rather an essay on the life of Christ, written with special reference to every hypothesis relating to it which has been offered by scepticism or superstition in eighteen centuries. This reference, generally manly and adequate, constitutes the value of the book. The tone is reverential, and the author is a Christian. That is clear. But none the less fairly does he examine the thousand theories which come in his way; and just as willing is he to dissect error, which is, of course, unessential from truth, which is, of course, the only essential, wherever he thinks he finds them tied. The reader may agree or disagree with him. But he will never fancy that a fond resolution to sustain the Saviour, whom it is clear he loves, makes Hase blindly support every allegation which has ever been made in his honor. As little does he run riot with any pet theory, and, because it has taken him neatly over a brook in the beginning of his critical journey, compel it to leap every five-barred gate on the right and left of his road as he travels.

We have intimated that the book is rather a book to interest students, than those who do not care to study the Gospels critically. It will amaze, and even grieve, persons who are not accustomed to such study, and do not want to be. Indeed, there is many a sharp hit in it, aimed right and left, by the way, at one or another absurdity of the sceptics or of the infatuated believers, which is not understood unless we have had some previous acquaintance with the literature of the subject.

Being, therefore, simply what it professes to be, a review of the

criticism of the life of Jesus, so adjusted as to show what is the present condition of the evidences for the external details of his ministry, we need scarcely say that the book does not affect to come within the class of simply devout books, which are stamped as *erbaulich*, or distinctly *edifying*. We have heard some criticism aimed hardly at it because it is not. It will be undoubtedly intimated, in one quarter and another, that Christians had better defend their records, and leave the criticism of them to others. From this view we dissent entirely. The Church is no better employed when she makes the believers believe more, than she is when she makes the unbelievers begin to believe. It is, undoubtedly, more agreeable to fan the flames of devotion, than it is to blow sparks into a flame. It is more agreeable to cosset and comfort a handful of saints, than it is to get hold of one or another of the great throng of sceptics, and lift him up to the plane of intelligent belief. Credulity is perhaps more "attractive," as the Fourierites would say, than scepticism. But it does not follow that a Gospel literature which deadens the occasional conscience-gnawings of the credulous, is any more elevated in its tone, any more pious, any more profitable to the Church, than that which meets the sceptic on his own chosen ground of inquiry, wrestles with him fairly, shoulders him, arms and armor, and brings him also into the camp of Christ to do battle in his turn against the enemy.

We dare not say that Hase's book is interesting, except to those who want to learn. It is severely condensed, so severely that one wonders how verbose Germany ever "appreciated it." It still maintains some characteristics of that land, however, having five Prefaces, four introductory letters, an Introduction which includes a general survey of the subject, and a Preliminary History at the beginning, together with two Appendixes at the end. It is broken up into a hundred and twenty-two sections, which are rather different essays on subjects connected with the inquiry than the several members of an organic biography, where one chapter leads to another in regular sequence from the beginning through. It is to be hoped, however, that no person seeks in such a book the sort of interest that he seeks in a work of ordinary literature; and, as we have said, the English student who really wants help for the faithful study of the life of Jesus has assistance here of the first character, such as he has nowhere else at command.

No feature in the infinitely diversified literature of the day is more striking than the abundance and apparent popularity of religious reading. Whole libraries of sermons, essays, commentaries, are poured forth with the fluency of extempore speech and the speed of the power-press. Cumming and Spurgeon, having got the ear of certain religious classes in the metropolis, outrival in both hemispheres, as far as numbers go, the popularity of Irving or Scott in their lifetime, and tread close on the heels of Dickens, Thackeray, or Mrs. Stowe. Mr. Beecher preaches to the great public from the leaves of two newspapers — sacred and secular — every week. Quite a library has been gathered from the like record of Theodore Parker's stated utterances in Boston.

And now, besides a previous volume of his own characteristic excellences of speech, we have the first of a series \* of handsome volumes, in which we are promised the fine and eloquent sermons of Mr. Chapin. Surely, the pulpit has been thoroughly redeemed in our day from the old charge of dulness. For whatever change has taken place in the public taste, or in the style of homiletics addressed to it, Mr. Chapin is entitled to his full share of credit. It would be difficult to name a person, who to a thorough liberality of creed unites at once more of popular power, more breadth and loftiness of tone, larger humanity in the best sense of that hard-used word, and a temper more utterly Christian and devout in the presence of religious emotions, ideas, and hopes. No man could be thought of sooner than he to represent the cheerful, manly type of piety, which we associate especially with the best thought and life of our own day. Mr. Chapin believes in the real advance of mankind in the ideas and practices of Christianity. He believes in the Gospel as a force at the heart of our civilization, — to be defended from assault, to be guarded from real perils, exposed to a thousand undermining and corrupting things, but with a divine, buoyant, healthy energy of its own, in which it is the best privilege of a good man's life to share. Endowed with a large and rich nature of his own, full of instincts and sympathies which keep him close to the popular understanding and heart, having the singular gift and force of oratory, which with so large a portion of the public is the seal and crown of all intellectual gifts, he has proved himself admirably fitted for the sphere which he has so admirably filled. It is a fortunate thing for the public, and fortunate for the prospects of a liberal, hearty, and free religion among us, that the man and the sphere are so widely recognized.

Of the volume before us, we need say little else than that it is the faithful record of the living speech of such a man as we have described, and gives fair evidence of his special gift and power. Almost every page we have turned might be cited in illustration of the finest qualities of extemporaneous address. There is always the directness, warmth, and energy; the tone which shows the man thoroughly at home with his audience; the ready, easy, and forcible illustration, prompt to each need of the discourse; and especially a certain dramatic power of presenting the arguments as points of view, hostile or friendly, in strong, clear lines before the popular mind, — a faculty in which Mr. Chapin excels every other speaker whom we have heard. Without the versatility and poetic power of his brilliant contemporary in the New York pulpit, he excels him in some of the best features of religious eloquence, particularly in the simple, strong, manly presentation of moral truth. And it is not only the ordinary religious or Christian view of life that we find presented in these Discourses; for, more distinctly than any religious writer we know, (unless it be the late Mr. Robertson,) Mr. Chapin speaks in the clear and glowing apprehension of the wider application of the same truth in the life of society, and the welfare of humanity at large.

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\* *Extemporaneous Discourses*, delivered in the Broadway Church, New York. By E. H. Chapin. First Series. New York: O. Hutchinson.

What the effect will be on religion, as literature, of the immense fluency and abundance of speech which represent it now, it is hard to say. But in the sphere where their words are listened to, and their power is felt, we can hardly think of an influence more wholly for good than these Discourses on religion as life. We cite them here as fine examples of a class of writings too often overlooked in an estimate of the mental character of a period or a literature, — a class whose abundance and character give it special importance at the present day.

Two able and timely publications by Dr. Ellis attest the indefatigable industry of their author, and the quickened interest in ecclesiastical theology among us.

The question of the Trinity has been newly and extensively discussed in these days. The dogma has been analyzed, criticised, viewed historically, scripturally, philosophically, — shown, one would think, in every possible light; and still the masterly discourse of Dr. Ellis \* presents an entirely new treatment of the subject. Viewing it only in its Scriptural aspect, the author has collated the passages in the New Testament out of which the ecclesiastical dogma has been framed, or which give it its show of Scriptural authority. He proves that these materials are perverted when so applied, that the Trinity which they express is something quite different from the ecclesiastical Tripersonality, — a triple denomination of the agents concerned in the work of human redemption, not a triplicity in the nature of the Godhead. "The Trinity as applied to the system of the Gospel, and as indicating in and through that Gospel a threefold working of God, expresses to my mind a true doctrine; but the Trinity as used to state an imaginary complication in the mode of the Divine existence, and as distributing the Godhead into three persons, is, to my mind, the symbol of mere human speculation, vain and erroneous." This discourse accordingly distinguishes itself from the common run of sermons on the Trinity written in the Evangelical or Liberal interest, as opposed to ecclesiastical tradition, by its positive character. Because the Athanasian formula is unevangelical and nonsensical, the author does not therefore reject the more ancient doctrine of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, but finds in it a genuine Scriptural triunity, that is, a triune agency in the divine work of the Gospel. "We must do justice to those verbal statements, to that mode of representation, to that method of instruction, characteristic of the New Testament writings, which, however far short they fall of asserting a triad of persons in the one God, and indeed however irreconcilable they are with that theosophic mystification of human brains, give us three names which answer to and represent respectively three manifestations or directions of one divine force." Dr. Ellis recommends to readers who would satisfy themselves of the real truth of the doctrine of the Trinity, as a triad of co-operating powers, and the utter

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\* The Christian Trinity: the Doctrine of God, the Father; Jesus Christ; and the Holy Spirit. A Discourse preached in Harvard Church, Charlestown, February 5, 1860. By GEORGE E. ELLIS. Charlestown: Abram E. Cutter. 1860.

absence of anything in the Scriptures implying a partition of the Godhead, the study of the New Testament with reference to this sole point. With an admirable diligence he has brought together, in successive exhibitions, from the Acts, from the Epistle to the Romans, and the two Epistles to the Corinthians, first, all the passages expressive of the immediate agency of God, the Father, in the Christian dispensation; then the texts referring to the action of Jesus Christ, and finally those concerning the operation of the Holy Spirit in promoting and completing the divine result. From which it appears, that there is no "indiscriminate assignment of the works and efficacy of the Gospel indifferently to God and Christ and the Holy Spirit," no "confusion indicated in the use of the three names," but, on the contrary, a most "exact, systematic, and consistent partition of rights, duties, and offices."

The conclusions of this discourse are more fatally detrimental to the Athanasian Creed than the indiscriminate attacks upon it of former polemics, and that unqualified denial of "the Trinity" with which the Unitarians of a former age inaugurated their new communion. We are grateful to Dr. Ellis for so weighty a contribution to sound evangelical theology.

The other publication,\* by the same author, to which we have referred, is a spirited and powerful plea for the unity of the Church as founded and consisting in unity of spirit, and not in uniformity of discipline or creed. The exclusive theories of the Roman and Protestant communions, judged by historical and critical tests, are tried and found wanting. The "glorious doctrine of a free and unappropriated Gospel" is affirmed to be "the largest, the most radiant in the crown of Christian verities," and the unconfined activity and impartial grace of the Holy Spirit are illustrated with the eloquence of luminous insight and fervent conviction. We know of nothing better and more convincing within the same compass on this fruitful topic, and we earnestly recommend the careful perusal of this pamphlet to all Christians whose theory of the Church confounds dogmatic exclusiveness with saving faith.

#### TWO AMERICAN ROMANCES.

ONCE in a while, the hard New England stock puts out rich and fragrant bloom, which betrays what generous juices flow to its nourishment in the rough soil, and what fine persuasions to fair and fruitful growth lurk in the crude climate of Yankee life and culture. And is it not pleasant to see the rugged and sturdy plant blossoming at times with a strange, aloe-like splendor and exuberance? With those rare and handsome blooms belongs Hawthorne's genius. It is a consummate flower, in whose unfolding one finds sufficient wonder and admiration, and but little reason for any feeling less agreeable or more captious. For it is of a profuse beauty and wholesome uses, and many strong and gentle influences have moved to its developing.

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\* The Unity of Christ's Church. A Discourse delivered in Harvard Church, Charlestown, March 4, 1860. By GEORGE E. ELLIS. Charlestown: Abram E. Cutter. 1860.

"The Marble Faun"\* can but repeat the impression and heighten the regard held of this admirable genius. Closing the book, we have to confess that we are the "gentle reader" of whose existence its Preface hints some regretful doubts. Not, however, that we would conceitedly arrogate all that is imagined there of that amiable person. But we do profess to be so much of him as may consist in hearty welcome of this new story and as hearty thanks for it, although we certainly may not claim the large right of genial and wise gentlehood, which Mr. Hawthorne attributes to that best friend of authors, as the "representative essence of all delightful and desirable qualities which a reader can possess."

It is a fascinating story. And yet, when we turn back to it, the material of plot and incident is meagre, compared with the array of circumstance, complication of events, and all the cunning machinery by which a novel generally moves on to an end carefully adjusted to the means employed. It is almost a story without an end, and we have heard much discontent that things were not made plainer in the last pages. Many good people are looking for a sequel which shall discover if Donatello's curls really hid the Faun's furry ears, and whether Miriam had Cenci blood in her, and what became of Hilda in those days when the Virgin's lamp went out, and the doves were unfed, and Kenyon wretched, and just who the queer union of spectre, model, and Capuchin was. But, as a story, and for the excitement of plot and issue, the book would seem to have little beside this mystery. For the characters are few, and the events, save the one fearful crime, not marked and striking. Its fascination lies deeper than the romantic interest excited by deft handling of stirring adventures and strange destinies, and by the portentous followings of consequence, through remarkable crises, up to a nicely fitted close, where all get justice and the riddles are all solved.

For the interest, then, deeper than the merely romantic, we have here, beside that peculiar subtilty of moral and spiritual search and apprehension which is the main thing in all Hawthorne's works, the new element of impressions recorded from delicate observation of life in Italy, particularly in Rome, and of ancient and modern art treasured or developed there.

One could hardly promise himself so much real delight and inspiration from any record of Italian and Roman life, as this gives with no niggard hand. The subject is so hackneyed by the swarm of literary travellers and æsthetic tourists, that fresh and keen pleasure could hardly be looked for in so well worn a theme. The form of the record is, to be sure, much in its favor. Some years ago, Andersen's "Improvisatore" showed that the romance was the most valuable form which an exposition of the country, people, life, manners, and art of Italy could take. For real instruction, not to speak of pleasure, it is a thousand-fold preferable to "classical tours," "diaries," and all such

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\* The Marble Faun : or, The Romance of Monte Beni. By NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE. In two volumes. Boston : Ticknor and Fields. 1860.

guide-book and *catalogue raisonné* dulness. But when a form, so apt in itself, is informed with genius, we have, as here, enjoyable proof how much finer the eye of the imagination is for the shows of nature and life, than the sight of the understanding, to the interpretation of their beauty or significance.

Imagination is, for the symbolism which marks all the sacred territory of Rome, the penetrative and revealing power, — like that princely authority which should turn the course of the Tiber, to uncover the riches which the yellow river has been hiding so long, and bring to the forgotten light armor and chariots, effigies of senators and emperors, altars and statues of the gods, vessels and emblems of heathen temples, and perhaps, strangely enough, that golden seven-branched candlestick which Titus took from the holy place of the One God in Jerusalem, and carved upon the arch of his triumph. This interpretative faculty Mr. Hawthorne has. It is not eager and darting, with fiery intensity, to the heart of mysteries, but by a calmer and more patient way — not with passionate surge, but with intellectual drift and flow — it enters into the secrets of beauty and awe and fate which Rome keeps for it, but denies to apprehensions less fine.

But, after all, this, like its writer's former works, is most remarkable for its anatomizing of moral and spiritual conditions. And it is not, perhaps, too much to say, that the metaphysical element makes not only its marked distinction, but its peculiar interest. If its elimination from the action of the story could be conceived, what would be left us of attraction in the persons and events, and in the criticism of art or the description of localities and manners, must, in comparison, appear inconsiderable. For this element, metaphysical both in the Shakespearian sense of Lady Macbeth's "fate and metaphysical aid," and in the usual meaning of search and exposition of facts and motions of the mental and moral nature, does not simply invest the book as costume, but is infused as life. It is not structural, belonging to its formal make-up, but intrinsic, of its pervading and moving spirit. As we feel its weird and sombre influence, we doubt if Romance be the fit title of the story. We never call Albert Durer's "Knight and Death" romantic, though all the mediæval adjuncts of mail and arms, of castled landscape, dark wood, grotesque fiend, and pale spectre are the belongings of romance. There is that in the rider's thoughtful, solemn face, as it were the shadow of the "mystery of iniquity," falling upon and sobering, but not darkening, the faith of the good soldier of Christ and tried knight of God, which makes this epithet inapplicable, if not injurious. So here, where, as we are carried along in the order of external circumstance, we follow still more closely the course of moral struggles and exigencies, and find, in the playing out of the drama, our interest engaged, more than in any outward bearing and action, in the passionate strife, with its catastrophes of evil or issues of good, which marks the temptation and the developing of human spirits, we question whether the addition of "The Romance of Monte Beni" belongs to the name of "The White Faun." The query, however, must not be thought the mere criticism of the title, but as put in the interest of a profound

admiration for the thoughtful and serious spirit, and the skilful subtilty in the treatment of the unsolved, perhaps here always unsolvable, problem of moral evil.

To a review of the book would belong an analysis of the writer's genius. We must let these few suggestions, out of the many it made while we read with so much delight, pass for an insufficient notice, to be sure, but for hearty welcome and thanks.

OUR new ghost-story \* is like its own description of Sir Rohan's conservatory. It is all impossible, but fascinating, — lavish of rare colors and aglow with brilliantest tints which are yet massed, not with deft choice and tender combinations, but with broad contrasts, and over-glare of splendor, and blazing discord set among the color-chords, — replete with shapes of striking loveliness, but also with strange forms twisting easily into perplexed and tortured grotesqueness, — profuse, but over-luxuriant, like the lush mosses, tangled vines, and feathery ferns under the glass roof there, — a wonderful sensuous beauty throughout, but with a something evil breathing through it, like the too luscious, unhealthy fragrance steaming from those crimson bells and purple cups of golden clusters. It is the show, withal, and proof, of a munificent nature, generous in present gift and plenteous with promise, like those tropical plants crowned with magnificent bloom and hung full of seed of reproduction.

To those who meet it half-way, and for the moment give themselves up to its enticements of sensuous beauty and mystic suggestion, this notable power will serve peculiar interest and pleasure. It is this new author's salient faculty, but her great danger. It is the perilous facility. It is apt to carry away its owner, and lead her on fantastical races. Yet it seems almost ungracious to find fault with the minister of so much eye-detaining splendor and heart-seizing mystery. By and by it will learn the lesson taught in the legend from Montaigne, put at the title-page, of "*Rien trop.*" And it is juster and wiser than fault-finding, to rank its present gift on that level of attainment where Keats's fancy found "*Endymion*," and trust that it will work up to that higher place and nobler exercise of confirmed, because governed power, where it also may find its "*Hyperion.*"

We have heard the book blamed for its want of tenderness, and women find special fault with Miriam because there is no feminine sweetness about her temper or conduct. No sweetness, to be sure, but abundant woman's passion, which, for story purposes, is as good, perhaps better. Yet we confess to a feeling of her unrealness, a fitfulness which her Bohemian blood hardly explains. Is she not in this of the Undine race? Save that the pale complexion and delicate make of the daughter of the waters is shot through with the flushing, golden blood of Giorgione's Venetians, kindling a love and nourishing a life, more passionate and brightly colored than the elf-lady's, though quite as inconstant and strange. The lack of tenderness and of fair humani-

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\* Sir Rohan's Ghost. A Romance. Boston : J. E. Tilton & Co. 1860.

ties in the book, and its tendency to the weird and night-side of nature, which so unincarnates its persons and puts them in unsympathetic remoteness, where they take a vague and apparition-like aspect, belong simply to the ghostliness which a ghost-story should have. And, besides, we have often observed, that where any passage of grand or fine spiritual history is taken up, any phase set forth of the mysterious junction in the soul of sorrow with aspiration, any action or crisis described of the deeper strifes with evil, any movement followed of its pursuing retributions along their winding way to the bitter end, or any show displayed of triumph over it after a long conflict, then the events and people of the story seem moved back into dim distances, and it is as though a veil were interposed, behind whose cloudiness scenes take fantastic and terrible shapes, incidents fall to unwonted issues, and persons, in their withdrawal from familiar and usual experience, pass as in the procession of a dream.

Much must be left unsaid of the praise due to the beauty and truthfulness of the form and matter of "Sir Rohan's Ghost." Much also of the blame due to what is ugly and false in it. But in the way of verbal particularity, we protest against the new-coined, ill-looking, and bad-sounding words, the "vile phrases" not infrequent on these pages. They are both an offence against the good manners of letters, and a blot upon the book. Then we protest, with much more heartiness than St. Denys, against the repetition of such wretched punning freaks as Miriam indulges in. They do not fit her, and they are not good quips. They were musty when we were "*impubes tenerique*" in college. They provoke no mirth, but only irritate by their misplaced vulgarity and utter silliness. As to the taint of evil, the impression of which spreads to us out of the pervading sensuousness of the book like the heavy and subtile perfumes of the conservatory which gathered around the heads and stole away the senses of those who lingered there, let the fable of the German poet point its moral to the danger risked by authorship which does not put sensuous fancy in due subordination to higher powers. It tells how the maiden picked, in her roving search, flowers of rich color and pungent fragrance, but brought home in their tinted and sweet blooms certain malicious sprites, who, while she slept, rose upon the heavy night-reek of the blossoms and revenged themselves by her death.

#### MISCELLANEOUS.

A LONDON lawyer of eminence, remarkable for a Boswellian knack of recording conversations, and favored with months of familiar intercourse among the highest political and business circles in Constantinople and Athens, has furnished original and conclusive testimony to the inevitable fate of the Turkish empire.\* Friends at a distance had hoped that the final result of the Crimean struggle would be the reno-

\* A Journal kept in Turkey and Greece, in the Autumn of 1857 and Beginning of 1858. By NASSAU W. SENIOR, Esq. London: Longman & Co. 1859.

vation of the government in whose behalf it was undertaken. Christianity with all its recuperative powers was to have free course in the decrepit kingdom; foreigners, with the prestige of victorious liberators, were to set on foot public-spirited enterprises; Abdul Medjid, his eyes rudely torn open, would see his way to be something else than the insatiable oppressor of a too patient people. Mr. Senior's reported conversations show that, by the confessions of men of all classes, no change for the better was to be expected even in Turkey, — that whatever change successful war, increased foreign influence, or concessions to the Allied Powers may have produced, has been unquestionably pernicious to the Turk. One threatening political vice is that official corruption, so remarkable in a people whose ordinary dealings are characterized by honesty. The most patriotic statesman Turkey possesses, Redschid Pasha, has led the way in making such appropriations to himself as render him independent of office. The Sultan is ever building needless palaces, and each is favored by his ministers because of the splendid bribes in its train. It is hardly possible for a Pasha to remain poor, because whatever service he requires of a village or an individual the rich will evade by a handsome payment, when the poor neighbor will have to perform his task without compensation, to his utter ruin.

Foreign interference, so far from being a benefit, proves a bitter curse. The first step in Turkish renovation, Mr. Senior was generally told, would be the banishment of every European government's representative. Each Minister seems bound to defeat the measures of his rival. Redschid Pasha, whom England supports, France opposes. Ferad, whom France upholds, England cannot tolerate. So with the most needed step of improvement, roads, one interfering power will permit nothing but railroads, another prefers canals; and between them, neither is likely to be done, at least not enough to arrest the impoverishment of the country, or the decrease of its population. "Turkey is the man in Molière who died of three physicians and two apothecaries."

The famous treaty of February, 1856, which secured to infidel foreigners the right to purchase Turkish soil, is of little use, because the purchaser forfeits his right of trial in the Consular Court of his own nation, and comes under the jurisdiction of Turkish justice, as capricious as it is summary. Besides this, out of Constantinople local feeling has more power than unpopular Abdul Medjid; and, as the larger part of the land has been willed as a sacred trust to the Mosque, its alienation by the Giaour is peculiarly offensive. Where the intruders have most influence, in the European suburb of Constantinople, vice and crime are altogether the most prolific, drinking-shops abound, murders are frequent, and the last state is evidently worse than the first.

The mere fact of the decay of Turkish population — due partly to their own deplorable habits, to the practice of infanticide and general demoralization, partly to their constituting the rank and file of armies which were decimated by the war — settles the question. The Christian majority is hourly increasing in numbers, wealth, intelligence,

energy, hope: it cannot be much longer oppressed by a race it despises: when the time comes for it to resume its manhood, the wonder will be it has been so long prostrate under so paralytic an oppressor.

As to the Sultan, who showed so much energy in putting down that far-reaching conspiracy a year ago, in this as in every other movement the little that he does is to avert some possible good from the most misgoverned country upon earth. Hopelessly in debt, his only anxiety is to build more palaces on the Bosphorus. Aware of the decrease of the Turks, he shuts his eyes to the inevitable consequences. Certain of being obliged to defend his empire, if not his life, from assault, he persists in setting the example of thorough sensuality. At the crisis of his country's destiny, he refuses to see anything, hear anything, know anything, be anything, — the slave himself of slaves, as well as the victim of appetite and lust.

MRS. LEE, to whom the public are already indebted for several excellent publications, original and translated, illustrative of German literature and life, has rendered new service in this kind by turning into English Auerbach's delicious little story, the *Barfüßele*,\* — a noted favorite in its native land, and familiar to readers of German in this country. A tale of German peasant life is this, full of the humor and pathos, the nice observation and profound appreciation of that order of society, which distinguish Auerbach's *Dorfgeschichten*, — the work on which his popularity with his countrymen and countrywomen is chiefly based. Mrs. Lee's translation is spirited, and written in pure English, and, though not precisely reproducing the original in every particular, is true to its general tone and spirit, and altogether a delightful little volume.

MR. MARSH'S Lectures on the English Language † were welcomed with enthusiasm by those who were competent to judge when he first delivered them. Now that he publishes them, he gives us the most valuable treatise we have on our language, of an interest which fascinates not only philologists by profession, but every person of intelligence. Our own review of the book is, unfortunately, postponed till our next number; but, without compelling our readers to wait until midsummer, we will so far anticipate our own criticism as to say, that, with the most careful learning on the subject, it is treated with such wealth of illustration and spirit of style, that this is the most entertaining book of the year.

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\* The Barefooted Maiden. A Tale. By BERTHOLD AUERBACH. Translated by ELIZA BUCKMINSTER LEE. Illustrated. Boston and Cambridge: James Munroe & Co. 1860.

† Lectures on the English Language. By GEORGE P. MARSH.

## NEW PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

## THEOLOGY AND RELIGION.

Hours with the Evangelists. By I. Nichols, D. D. 2 vols. Vol. I. Boston: Crosby, Nichols, & Co. 8vo. pp. 405. (Noticed in January.)

Life of Jesus, a Manual for Academic Study. By Dr. Carl Hase. Translated by James Freeman Clarke. Boston: Walker, Wise, & Co. 12mo. pp. 267. (See p. 472.)

Passing Thoughts on Religion. By the Author of "Amy Herbert," &c.

Night Lessons from Scripture. By the same. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

The Guilt of Slavery and the Crime of Slaveholding, demonstrated from the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures. By George B. Cheever. Boston: John P. Jewett & Co. 12mo. pp. 472.

Disquisitions and Notes on the Gospels. Matthew. By John H. Morison. Boston: Walker, Wise, & Co. 12mo. pp. 538. (See p. 471.)

Extemporaneous Discourses, delivered in the Broadway Church, New York. Reported as delivered, and corrected by the Author. By E. H. Chapin, D. D. First Series. New York: O. Hutchinson. 12mo. pp. 358. (See p. 475.)

Life's Evening; or, Thoughts for the Aged. Boston: J. E. Tilton & Co. 24mo. pp. 265.

The Church and the Press: a Sermon, by A. C. Coxe. New York: Episcopal Book Society. 12mo. pp. 48.

The Bible and Social Reform; or, The Scriptures as a Means of Civilization. By R. H. Tyler. Philadelphia: James Challen & Son. 12mo. pp. 366.

## HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

The Treason of Charles Lee, Major-General, Second in Command in the American Army of the Revolution. By George H. Moore. New York: Charles Scribner. 8vo. pp. 115.

A Memoir of the Life and Labors of the Rev. Adoniram Judson, D. D. By Francis Wayland. New York: Sheldon & Co. Two vols. in one. 12mo. pp. 544, 404.

Isaac T. Hopper. A True Life. By L. Maria Child. 12th Thousand. Boston: J. P. Jewett & Co. 12mo. pp. 493.

The Puritans; or, The Church, Court, and Parliament of England, during the Reigns of Edward VI. and Queen Elizabeth. By Samuel Hopkins. Vol. II. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 8vo. pp. 539.

The Life of Daniel Wilson, D. D., Bishop of Calcutta and Metropolitan of India. By Josiah Bateman. With Portraits, Map, and Illustrations. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 8vo.

History of the Early Church, from the First Preaching of the Gospel to the Council of Nicæa. For the Use of Young Persons. By the Author of "Amy Herbert." New York: D. Appleton & Co. 24mo. pp. 383.

The History of Herodotus. A New English Version. By George Rawlinson, M. A. Vol. III. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 8vo. pp. 463.

The History of France. By Parke Godwin. Vol. I. (Ancient Gaul.) New York: Harper & Brothers. 8vo. pp. 495.

The Pioneers, Preachers, and People of the Mississippi Valley. By W. H. Milburn. New York: Derby & Jackson. 12mo. pp. 465.

Stories of Inventors and Discoverers in Science and the Useful Arts. By

John Timbs. With Illustrations. New York: Harper & Brothers. 12mo. pp. 473.

Memoir of the Duchess of Orleans. By the Marquess de H——. Together with Biographical Souvenirs and Original Letters. Collected by Prof. G. H. de Schubert. Translated from the French. New York: Charles Scribner. 12mo. pp. 391.

Gowans's *Bibliotheca Americana*. 2. A Two Years' Journal in New York and Part of its Territories in America. (1778-79.) By Charles Wooley. New York: William Gowans. 8vo. pp. 97.

#### ESSAYS, ETC.

A Familiar Forensic View of Man and Law. By Robert B. Warden. 8vo. pp. 550.

Cyclopædia of Literary and Scientific Anecdote. Edited by William Kiedie. From the London Edition. 8vo. pp. 439.

School Days of Eminent Men. By John Timbs. From the London Edition. Columbus: Follett, Foster, & Co. 8vo. pp. 309.

Seventh Annual Report of the Secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Agriculture, etc., for 1859. Boston: William White. 8vo. pp. 324.

Critical and Miscellaneous Essays. Collected and republished by Thomas Carlyle. Boston: Brown & Taggard. 4 vols. 12mo. pp. 491, 490, 480.

#### GEOGRAPHY AND TRAVELS.

Notes of Travel and Study in Italy. By Charles Eliot Norton. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 18mo. pp. 320. (Notice deferred.)

Narrative of the Earl of Elgin's Mission to China and Japan, in the Years 1857, '58, '59. By Laurence Oliphant, Esq. New York: Harper & Brothers. 8vo. pp. 645.

Letters from Switzerland. By Samuel Irenæus Prime. New York: Sheldon & Co. 12mo. pp. 264.

#### EDUCATION.

American Normal Schools; their Theory, their Workings, and their Results. (Proceedings of the Convention of the Normal School Association for 1859.) 8vo. pp. 113.

The National Fifth Reader. By Richard G. Parker and J. M. Watson. 12mo. pp. 600.

Elements of Mechanics, for the Use of Colleges, Academies, and High Schools. By William G. Peck. 12mo. pp. 338.

Bible History; a Text-Book for Seminaries, Schools, and Families. By Sarah R. Hanna. New York: Barnes & Burr. 12mo. pp. 290.

Elements of Chemical Physics. By Josiah P. Cooke, Jr. Boston: Little, Brown, & Co. 8vo. pp. 739. (To be noticed.)

#### POETRY.

Napoleon III. in Italy, and Other Poems. By Elizabeth Barrett Browning. New York: C. S. Francis & Co. 18mo. pp. 72.

Nugamenta; a Book of Verses. By George Edward Rice. Boston: J. E. Tilton & Co. 18mo. pp. 146.

Poems, Lyrical and Idyllic. By Edmund Clarence Stedman. New York: Charles Scribner. 18mo. pp. 196.

## NOVELS AND TALES.

Adela, the Octoroon. By H. L. Hosmer. Columbus: Follett, Foster, & Co. 12mo. pp. 400.

The Marble Faun; or, The Romance of Monte Beni. By Nathaniel Hawthorne. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 2 vols. 18mo. (See p. 478.)

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Tylney Hall. By Thomas Hood. Boston: J. E. Tilton & Co. 12mo. pp. 479.

Bertha Percy; or, L'Esperance. By Margaret Field. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 12mo. pp. 567.

## JUVENILE.

Hester and I; or, Beware of Worldliness. By Mrs. Manners. New York: Sheldon & Co. 24mo. pp. 237.

The Florence Stories. By Jacob Abbott Grimkie. New York: Sheldon & Co. 18mo. pp. 252.

Friarswood Post-Office. By the Author of the Heir of Redclyffe. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 24mo. pp. 251.

Stories of Rainbow and Lucky. By Jacob Abbott. New York: Harper & Brothers. 24mo. pp. 190.

## MISCELLANEOUS.

The New American Cyclopædia; a Popular Dictionary of General Knowledge. Edited by George Ripley and Charles A. Dana. New York: D. Appleton & Co. Vol. IX. 8vo. pp. 790.

The Satires of Juvenal, Persius, Sulpicia, and Lucilius, literally translated into English Prose. By Rev. Lewis Evans. With Gifford's Metrical Version of Juvenal and Persius. New York: Harper & Brothers. 16mo. pp. 512.

Spiritualism Tested; or the Facts of its History classified and their Causes verified. By George W. Samson. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 18mo. pp. 185.

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Our Bible Chronology critically examined and demonstrated. With Charts and Tables. By Rev. R. C. Shimeall. New York: Barnes & Burr. Large 8vo. pp. 234.

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Old Leaves. Gathered from Household Words. By W. Henry Wills. New York: Harper & Brothers. 12mo. pp. 467.

## PAMPHLETS.

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